A dying light: *Puck*'s decline and the imperial war of 1898

On May 11, 1896, comic magazine *Puck* turned upside down. The comic magazine *Puck* was named after the witty and mischievous jester named Puck, within William Shakespeare's comedy, *Midsummer Night's Dream*, who used magic "for comic effect" and is capable of "cruel tricks for the sake of enjoyment."[1] These aspects of Puck's character played out in the publication itself and is likely why this character was chosen as a symbol of the magazine. On that day in 1896, H.C. Bunner, the long-time editor, who wrote *Puck*'s editorial section titled "Cartoon and Comments," died. This meant that Arnold Schwartzmann took over the comic magazine, taking it in a more conservative direction in terms of economics and writings on foreign policy.[2] However, six illustrators continued working at *Puck* from May 1896 through January 1899, each with their own unique style.[3]

This time period, in *Puck*'s history, has been relatively understudied since it was the beginning of the publication's decline, with its eventual demise in 1918. That is because, by 1896, *Puck*'s days of being a "political power broker" and an "established success," which had made its owners wealthy, were over.[4] Additionally, Joseph Keppler, one of the publication's co-founders, who drew many of the publication's early cartoons and determined what cartoons would run in *Puck* each week, died in 1894, two years prior.[5] From 1879 on, the English-language *Puck*, a sixteen-page publication that reached out to a sophisticated middle-class audience, sold for ten cents and stood out as a successful comic magazine in a volatile economy. [6] It also played a significant role in "engaging and defining emerging cultural issues of great importance." As such, it stood out as an example of the emerging popular genre of humor in America, even as it engaged in stereotypical imagery not only about Jewish people, but against other ethnicities as well, like the Irish.[7]

Sixty-three illustrations, or Puckgraphics, mostly within this understudied time period (May 1896-January 1899), which embody varied beliefs, specifically anti-Spanish sentiment, racism,

"manliness," anti-woman expressions, and supposed "misgivings" about conquest (which they ultimately endorsed), are analyzed within this essay, even though only 61 of these illustrations have visual representations in Appendix 1, along with two non-Puckgraphics which have relevance to the topics of this essay. This essay serves as an independent analysis of *Puck* which has not been attempted by any previous scholarship, treading on new ground, showing that illustrators (which also be called cartoonists) played on the aforementioned themes, which was in-line with content during that time, placing it within the broader context of "popular imperialism" of the United States and of growing US nationalism starting with the war of 1898.

The Illustrators

Before analyzing the cartoons, it is important to briefly review each of the cartoonists and their style. Between May 1896 and January 1899, six illustrators worked at *Puck:* Louis Dalrymple, the chief cartoonist, Udo Keppler as leader of the art staff, and four others: Samuel Ehrhart, Charles Jay (C.J.) Taylor, J.S (John Samuel) Pughe, and Frederick Burr Opper.

Dalrymple had a "restless disposition," formerly working for *Judge* (a rival publication), before joining the staff of *Puck* in 1886.[7] Born in Cambridge, Illinois, he had wide-ranging problems with his relationships by the 1890s, and died in Baltimore in 1905 from acute parasis. Years before he showed signs of "insanity," possibly as a result of his "marital troubles" for this "talented cartoonist" as some papers called him.[8] These personal conditions would affect his illustrations. His style would use simplistic or eye-popping colors, depending on what was being shown, to create vivid images "which carried the political lesson of the week," as he put it, making him "one of the best known in comic journalism."[9] At the same time, these illustrations would have anti-woman and racist undertones.

Keppler was a different man than Dalrymple. He was the son of Joseph Keppler who had founded *Puck* back in the 1870s. Born in St. Louis, Keppler was not only a cartoonist but he was "an

avid collector of Indian artifacts as well as being an Indian activist," a happily married man in 1895, and chief cartoonist of *Puck* in 1901.[10] He would later contribute to publications rivaling *Puck* until 1915, and retired in 1920 from cartooning. He is best known for his octopus representing Standard Oil, titled "Next!," published in *Puck* in 1904 (***figure 1***). As such, his style was also vivid like Dalrymple but had an even more pointed message, engaging in racist imagery with imperialistic undertones.

The other cartoonists were different. Born in Pottsville, Pennsylvania, Ehrhart was an "artist," as he told the census taker for Brooklyn.[11] He first did illustrations for *Puck* in 1880 and more steadily between 1888 and 1913, also working for *Harper's Monthly* and *Judge* magazines later on. His style was that of evocative images which seemed to criticize wealth and privilege even though he ultimately endorsed imperial action, as noted later in this essay.[12]

Taylor had a perspective which was not the same as Ehrhart. As a New York-born man and a person who studied law at Columbia University, before he studied art, he contributed illustrations to varied publications over the years including *New York's Daily Graphic*, *Harpers*, *Punch*, and *Puck*.[13] While only two of his illustrations are featured in essay, both of them invoke nationalistic themes and anti-woman undertones. Without analysis of his other cartoons it is not possible to fully assess his style. Even so, we know that Taylor was well-educated, training at National Academy of Design in New York, studying in Paris and London, which undoubtedly affected his work for the years to come.[14]

There were two other cartoonists: Pughe and Opper. The former was a Welsh-born cartoonist, with his parents immigrating to the US in the 1870s, who started his career at the *New York World* where his cartoons caught the eye of *Puck*, leading him to be brought on as a staff member. He eventually would become the chief cartoonist of the comic magazine, showing his rise through the ranks of the publication.[15] He would die in 1909. While the *New York Times* only called him "the cartoonist," *Puck*'s obituary said that they lost "a cartoonist and pen humorist who had no superior in

the periodical press of America...a friend and an associate" who had contributed to *Puck* from June 1894 until December 1908, and had a nationwide "reputation."[16] This alluded to his style in a sense. His style, which included many smaller cartoons, intended to, generally, "draw a laugh from the audience," show "a sense of American pride" while recycling "hispanic stereotypes" at other times.[17]

Finally, there was Opper. Born in Madison, Ohio, he was a well-known cartoonist who was hired by William Randolph Hearst in 1899 to "draw comic strips for the *New York Journal*" and was so prolific that he often had "two or three comic strips in a single color comics section."[18] While he is mostly known for his "Happy Hooligan" comic along with "And Her Name War Maud," to name a few, he did freelance work for *Puck*, among other publications. In 1880, he was hired for the comic magazine and had a "wonderful natural sense of visual humor...[a] near perfect humorous expression" as Richard Samuel West notes, which was his road to Hearst in later years.[19] Others said that his expression was "an appeal to our sense of the ridiculous," which isn't a surprise as he is well known for his humorous cartoons and comic strips, working for varied magazines since the age of 14.[20] If that doesn't tell you his style as an illustrator, I don't know what else will.

Having it in for the Spanish: 1896-1898

In order to adequately explain the cartoons of these six illustrators, historical context is necessary. Starting in 1895, elements of the press, especially the "yellow press," and pro-expansionist forces began actively agitating for war against Spanish to "free Cuba." *Puck* staked out a position at the time, with a cartoon by Dalrymple criticizing calls for jingoism, with newspaper editors shown as the "United Order of Jingoes," including Joseph Pulitzer, sitting outside the White House, as then-President Grover Cleveland read from a paper labeled "Cleveland's Hawaiian Policy." (***figure 2***) While "yellow" papers amplified the opinions of the American populace, they can't be blamed fully, because it removes blame from others, ranging from business interests to imperial expansionists.[21] Prior to the

war, the U.S. government engaged in overseas probes and interventions in Cuba fueled by the "ideology of expansion" which was widespread in elite circles but the U.S. government was hesitant because it thought that there could be was a chance of success without war. In less than three months, the one-sided war against Spain, a "consequence of a century of dreams and expansion," ended with U.S. victory. The US became an overseas empire through the seizure of Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines from the Spanish.[22]

In late 1896, Cuba was first portrayed by *Puck* cartoonists. At that time, the ruler of Cuba was General Valeriano Weyler, who was infamous for his "reconcentration" plan, which stripped Cuban guerrillas of "their abilities to live off the land and camouflage themselves in groups of civilians."[23] It also moved Cuban civilians to Spanish army-controlled concentration camps, which resulted in 30% of those living the camps perishing "from lack of proper food, sanitary conditions, and medicines." *Puck* cartoonists Opper and Taylor tapped into the severe "anti-Spanish feeling in the United States" generated by these practices. In October 1896, Opper published a cartoon about "chances" for populist William Jennings Bryan, who ran as the Democratic Party candidate for President in 1896, when he lost the election. In the last panel of the cartoon, Opper portrayed Bryan's last "chance" as General Weyler treating him like "a long-lost brother" because of Bryan's "fondness for making bombastic proclamations."[24] While some could imply this means Bryan is being traitorous, it seems that Opper's cartoon is a satirical jab at Bryan. Later that year, followed another cartoon that was even harsher, focusing on General Weyler, in a satirical manner, specifically underscoring his brutality.[25] In the cartoon, Weyler, smiling with glee, is pictured as heading a "Brooklyn trolley" down railroad tracks, which refers to the "trocha" or the fortified militant line to contain Cuban rebels and the first government-controlled railroad line on the island, literally mowing down "Cuban insurgents" with the

trolley. At the same time, other insurgents, some who had been previously hurt, move out of the way, and Spanish officers look pleased with the sight.

As the months passed, for those on the *Puck* staff, Weyler remained a menace in Cuba. C.J. Taylor expressed this in a front page illustration with the caption asking "why is he happy?" which portrays a smiling Weyler riding a horse in his military regalia on an island labeled "Cuba." It seems to be saying that the Graeco-Turkish War, referred to as "that Eastern War," is convenient for him because it "will take people's attention from *my* campaign for awhile!" (***figure 3***) Taylor's conjecture was accurate, but only when Weyler left his post in October 1897 did the "yellow press" abate their severe attacks against Spanish rule until the *USS Maine* explosion in February 1898.[26] Next to Weyler is a bomb which is labeled "dissatisfaction," and a house is burning in the background, but the clouds of rebellion in Cuba are "overshadowed by heavier clouds of war" -- the Graeco-Turkish War.

The next month, Pughe published a cartoon, about the new leader that took Weyler's place. His illustration shows the European powers of Italy, Germany, France, Britain, and Russia satisfied by the proclamation from the new leader, or "street crier," of Cuba saying that Spain's war with Cuba will end soon, while Uncle Sam appears to be deeply skeptical. (***figure 4***) Pughe projects his viewpoint in the cartoon's caption, "Spain's new street crier – with the same old cry," asserting clearly that he felt a new Cuban leader would not change the status quo on the small island.

A "futile" Spanish empire and racist undertones: 1896-1898

In the lead up to the war, numerous *Puck* cartoons commented on the futile state of the Spanish empire. In 1896, a cover cartoon by Pughe with the caption, "She is getting too feeble to hold them" began this commentary. The cartoon identifies the "feeble" woman as the queen of Spain, who is struggling to maintain control of two strong males, labeled "Cuba" and the "Philippine Islands," trying to break free from her grip. (***figure 5***) Pughe not only illustrates the futile effort by the bewildered

Spanish Queen and the "increasingly restive" nature of her colonies, but he also shows an inability to "draw an accurate portrait of a Filipino," armed with a very crude hatchet and hunting knife unlike the "strong" Cuban boy as armed with sword and pistol, showing clear "subtleties of race and ethnicity."[27] Opper continued this commentary in a February 1897 drawing which satirically purports to tell how "we" citizens can repel "the enemy" if they land in America. He drew a parade of U.S. citizens, carrying banners and signs promoting their causes, "marching toward Spanish troops who are fleeing the beach to their waiting ships at sea."[28]

As tensions between the United States government, the American populace, and Spain increased in the months leading up to the war of 1898, the cartoons in *Puck* became more critical of Spain. The first print by Keppler, titled, "Poor Spain!" shows an angry, menacing Cuban man in blackface labeled "Cuban Moloch," with a wide mouth swallowing a Spanish flotilla, en route to Cuba, and a frightened King of Spain cowering on his throne, with a broken sword labeled with the word "Spain." It also showed an empty strong box filled with mounting "debts," a ragged Spanish flag, an orb, and a specter at his feet. (***figure 6***) There is no doubt that Keppler, when he used the label "Moloch," referring originally to an ancient Semitic idol, with the head of calf and the body of human, which children were sacrificed to that individuals sacrificed children to appease, was taking it to mean referred to Keppler's assumption of Cuban willingness to do "anything that requires a sacrifice...something associated with wrongdoing [and] evil."[29] The cartoon also shows the "Moloch" reaching across the ocean to the childlike Spanish king, with Cuba representing the child. Spain is attempting, in vain, to "defend" Cuba but is failing because Cuba is too strong, resulting in their defeat.

In other cartoons that year, Keppler played on similar themes. In August, he portrayed Spain as "sacrificing" to a faltering idol of "false pride" (***figure 7***) while in June he showed the King of Spain as as a wooden puppet slumped over a chair as an arm labeled "home riots" reaches to ignite a bomb near

the throne labeled "anarchy" (***figure 8***). In the latter illustration likely refers to the *U.S.S. Maine* explosion earlier that year, since Spain argued the explosion was an internal one, with the caption declaring "this will be an internal explosion," with the word "will" underlined.[30] The same year Keppler predicted "peace" with victory over Spain because of $50 million spent on "national defense" while a petite man representing Spain sits on a rock (***figure 9***). He also showed the horrified ghost of a past Spanish king, Charles V, whom presided in the 16th century, over a huge domain of imperial control which stretched over 1 million square miles, observing the then-Prime Minister, Praxedes M. Sagasta, sinisterly filing an oil lamp labeled "Spanish Honor," basically saying that the "honor" of Spain was dying (***figure 10***). Figure 10 was impactful enough that the tagline of this illustration was manifested the title of this paper, due to its application to *Puck*'s history at the time.

Even with these sentiments, as previously explained, *Puck*'s competitor, *Judge*, was more forthright with their war advocacy, saying that Spain should suffer "retribution" for the explosion of the *U.S.S. Maine* in Havana harbor, even though its explosion was due to unknown causes.[31]

Projecting "manliness" as a form of nationalism

During the progression of the war of 1898, manliness was a theme in many *Puck*'s cartoons. These cartoons were connected to assumptions about "manliness" and conceptions of the war "as a matter of male honor" among growing numbers in U.S. society.[32] Two illustrations in particular defended President McKinley's "manliness" from those who perceived him as "soft," including elements of the "yellow press," without overtly saying it.[33] The first of these implied that the boy representing *Puck* was "ready for duty" and was going off to war, showing that he was representing answering a national calling. (***figure 11***) Another more directly defended him from attacks against his masculinity, showing showed "yellow" journals slinging mud at McKinley, saying that the government has done the best for the soldiers and that these journals "only besmirch the national honor." (***figure***

12) This was in line with a cartoon Dalrymple has drawn a year earlier. It showed the then-Secretary of State, John Sherman, dressed as an elderly woman who was is picking petals off daises labeled "Hawaii," "Cuba" and "Bering Sea," and putting them in a flowerpot labeled "Diplomatic Questions." (***figure 13***) This cartoon shows that *Puck* cartoonists were willing to show men, in this case Sherman, as "unmanly" by portraying them in embarrassing, and humiliating and ways, effeminizing them, such as wearing women's clothes. As such, it shows Dalrymple's anti-woman undertones.

In illustration by Keppler, the Admiral of the US Navy, George Dewey, was congratulated for his victory in the battle of Manila, the triumph of American battleships over the Spanish fleet was applauded and seen as a U.S. victory (***figure 14***; ***figure 15***). In an illustration in the same vein by Ehrhart, Dewey stood alongside Columbia, representing the United States, both of them between two boys Columbia was "proud of": an American sailor and an American soldier, which indicates an endorsement of strong masculinity (***figure 16***).[34]

There were are two prints published in July 1898, by Keppler, which stand above the others due to their positive portrayal of masculinity. The most striking of these is one with the caption, "the man behind the gun will settle this war" (***figure 17***). The image depicts a tough, muscular U.S. Navy sailor, with a flag flying behind him, standing by a long, slender gun, with a smoldering Spanish fleet portrayed in the far background. This striking image has a homoerotic nature to it and solidifies a specific masculine ideal concept of manhood that was perceived to be "under attack." Threats to this masculinity during this time period included more visibility of homosexuals, an urban economy which valued masculine strength less, and an emerging new, independent woman.[35] At the same time, the rise of the military culture during the war of 1898, among other wars, "contributed to the cult of idealized, heterosexual manhood." Keppler's propagandistic illustration has parallels to McClelland Barclay's famous WWII navy recruiting poster titled "Man the Guns—Join the Navy," which showcases a

common theme in patriotic posters during World War II: masculine strength (***figure 18***). While each of these illustrations was done in a different time period, there are many parallels.

Keppler's other illustration, "The Rough Riders," in July 1898 carries a strong symbolism of masculinity. It shows a gallant Theodore (Teddy) Roosevelt, leading the Rough Riders into battle in Cuba, charging on weak, retreating Spanish forces (***figure 19***). Like his other illustration, this shows dominance over the enemy, with a strong man (United States) overpowering a weak man (Spain). Additionally, the Rough Riders, a group of military volunteers who fought in Cuba, engaged in "exaggerated exploits" that became mythical for American manhood, raising Roosevelt's stature, at the time, as an exemplar of the "vigorous, masterful, out-of-doors man."[36]

The idea of a "damsel in distress" and "male protector"

During the run-up to war of 1898, the idea of a masculine protector of a "weak" female was theme for those advocating for war. This conception proposed that a man "protects" women, and children, who are in a "subordinate position of dependence and obedience," while those don't resist such dominance but are, rather, grateful for the "promise of protection."[37] For *Puck*, this came in the form of a "damsel in distress." In this case, the damsel was Cuba and the "savior" was the United States. The most striking manifestation was is a June 1896 satirical cartoon by Taylor titled "the Cuban melodrama," which showed a "feminized image of Cuba," questioning who is the seducer and who is wielding power (***figure 20***).[38] Illustrators such as Taylor "acknowledged Cuba's sexual power" as a form of resistance, with the American male hero having to "free her from Spain's sadistic grip" and Cuba enlisting her sexuality, at times, to lure him in. This illustration, of course, is not only the earliest embodiment of this plot, with the American hero protecting the white Cuban woman from the "dark and evil Spaniard," but the Cuban woman kneels "barefoot in a sexually suggestive pose and gazes at

him with pleading eyes," showing her immodesty, while the hero is effeminized, in a sense, by being dressed in "Elizabethan costume."[39]

Puck cartoonists continued to tap into these idea, with a weak female representing Cuba, a "Cuban damsel," and a strong male representing the United States. While Keppler's October 1897 cover cartoon did not use a "Cuban damsel," he showed a strong, manly, and resolute Uncle Sam looking at a burning island in the background labeled "Cuba," indicating that he's almost ready for war (***figure 21***). Dalrymple was more explicit. In a cartoon the following year, he portrayed Uncle Sam, in military regalia, pointing out to a "traditionally dressed" woman, representing Cuba, while the weakening Spanish presence is depicted as a defeated Spanish king on a departing ship which carries a tattered Spanish flag (***figure 22***). To drive the point home, the cartoon has the tagline of "It's got to be sooner or later – and it looks like "sooner," which is effectively advocacy for war.

In another illustration, later that year, Dalrymple is more blatant: he shows the "Cuban damsel" in danger of death. In his cartoon, a woman, representing Cuba, stands helplessly in a frying pan, being fried like a piece of raw food, while the "ANARCHY" on the island below heats the bottom of the pan (***figure 23***). The "ANARCHY," the cartoon poses, is caused by fighting between "insurgents" and "autonomists" with the message to the readers directly in the caption: "The Duty of The Hour: To Save Her Not Only From Spain but From a Worse Fate," which is again a call for action.

As the war continued, Dalrymple's cartoons expounded on the theme of the "Cuban damsel." In November 1898, he portrayed the Philippines as a "helpless" young woman with Uncle Sam hanging onto her while a tiger, labeled "Spanish misrule," awaits her fall (***figure 24***). Once again, the United States is cast as a benign civilizer who will "save" certain places from uncertain fates. Another illustration by Dalrymple, published in September 1898, with the caption, "Save me from my friends," had a similar message (***figure 25***). This image depicting Uncle Sam sheltering a "dark-

skinned female Cuba Libre under the Stars and Stripes" and alleging that "Cuba's destiny was safest in the hand of American benefactors."[40] As such, the cartoon has a deeper meaning than just sheltering a purportedly helpless Cuban woman. As queer theorist Cynthia Weber puts it, after 1959, the masculinized United States lost its "reward" for valor in the war of 1898, "the feminized Cuba, its symbolic object of desire," an object that was normalized and idealized as a complement to the United States who was "its protector."[41] Such subservience made Cuba a non-being, a nation without sovereignty, a feminine complement to U.S. masculinity," a place that mirrored such masculinity.[42] What Weber writes about relates directly to Dalrymple's illustration because a weak and defenseless Cuba literally pleading on one knee, possibly praying, to Uncle Sam to be her protector is a position, which makes Cuba subservient.

Misgivings about conquest?: 1897-1899

While there were pro-imperialist themes, many of the cartoonists had misgivings about conquest by the United States. These misgivings were foreshadowed by Keppler's November 1895 illustration which pictured a dream by Uncle Sam, after reading the "jingo newspapers," engaging in total war, aggressively asserting the Monroe Doctrine (***figure 26***) There is a striking similarity between the upper left corner of Keppler's cartoon, and another cartoon, by illustrator Manuel Moline in a pro-republican Spanish weekly satire magazine, that criticized U.S. behavior in the Caribbean as the craving of Uncle Sam, calling for the saving of Cuba before it is "lost" (***figure 27***).[43] Over two years later, Keppler showed Columbia, representing the United States, standing with two "troublemakers," the "Irish Agitator" and "Cuban Filibuster;" showing that he viewed the demands by Cubans to be on par with the Irish, with the Cubans hiding behind the skirt of the United States and holding "U.S. citizenship" papers (***figure 28***).[44] The year, Ehrhart drew a cartoon that looked discerningly at the supposedly "noble" mission of U.S. in China and the Philippines (***figure 29***).

In 1898 and 1899, with American overseas imperialism in progress, Keppler and Dalrymple continued their critical edge. In May 1898, a cartoon declared that the U.S. government had no room to criticize the "cutting of the cake" or carving up of China by European powers, when it had its own small, but significant-sized bundt cake labeled "Cuba" (***figure 30***). More blatant than these criticisms is an August 1898 Keppler illustration titled, "A Trifle Embarrassed." The cartoon, which was reprinted and put on a float at a civic parade in Philadelphia, satirically depicted Uncle Sam and Columbia as "receiving a basket of crying infants" from arms marked "manifest destiny," with both bewildered by these new arrivals while those "children" inside the "U.S. Foundling Asylum," gesturing toward the idea that America had a "successful history of territorial expansionism" (***figure 31***). Keppler portrays these "children" as mischievous and depicts "the new colonial additions as screaming, angry babies, conceptualizing empire as an obligation and sacrifice."[45] While this image does not denounce imperialism outright, an image of unruly subjects hardly seems a way to celebrate it.

Along with mild criticisms of American imperialism, there were criticisms of jingoism pushed by "yellow journalists" by *Puck* cartoonists. Some cartoons satirically said that the settlement of controversy over Venezuela was a "set-back for jingoism" (***figure 32***) and an angry fist-shaking "Jingo Bully" which bullies Uncle Sam, who stacks bags of grain and wheat near the shore (***figure 33***). During the war, numerous *Puck* cartoons criticized jingoistic tendencies of "yellow journals." These included praise of McKinley for being above the yellow journalism of Hearst and Pulitzer (***figure 34***; ***figure 35***), while yellow journalism, in the form of Joseph Pulitzer, was a pest putting its nose into McKinley's war policy (***figure 36***). *Puck* expressed its disgust for yellow journalism, saying it should be "put in its place" with military general William R. Shafer, commended by European rulers for his war success, humiliated by "yellow journalists" (***figure 37***; ***figure 38***). The theme was continued in other illustrations. One cartoon, by Keppler, showed two monuments on a "barren island" papered with

"yellow sheets of paper that give credit" for the "victory" in the war of 1898 to Pulitzer and Hearst (***figure 39***). While another, by Dalrymple, showed a military general holding campaign plans who was confronted by "yellow journalist" mosquitoes saying "if you don't let us run this business, we'll run you out" (***figure 40***).

However, criticism of American imperial policy by *Puck* cartoonists only went so far. This showed itself first on the subject of Anglo-American cooperation. In June 1898, Puck's cartoonists portrayed Britain and the U.S. as women, as mother and daughter, coming together, with the big guns on Britain's ship representing its role in conquest (***figure 41***), and "Anglo-Saxon solidarity" between Britain and the US with a new sense of mission: "United We Stand for Civilization and Peace!" (***figure 42***).[46] Even in late 1898, Keppler drew cartoon showing John Bull (Britain) and Uncle Sam ice-skating with a young woman, with the label "American girl," in-between them (***figure 43***). While it is hard to attain the deeper meaning of this cartoon, it is clear that it shows both John Bull and Uncle Sam trying to court the woman, possibly representing, yet again, Anglo-American cooperation. In the following years, John Bull and Uncle Sam would be portrayed as holding up the world in an illustration, with the caption, "And Peace Shall Rule" (***figure 44***) Britain and the United States would be shown as similarly "mired in colonial wars at a steep price," yet again showing their cooperation to some degree.

Endorsement of imperial policy

The limits of *Puck*'s criticism of the "new" imperial policy of the United States government ended with their outright endorsement of such policies. For example, McKinley was portrayed standing firm and giving a speech, against those who believe in anti-expansionism or anti-annexation, while flags for US colonies continued (***figure 45***). Later that month there was an illustration titled "School Begins." In the cartoon, Uncle Sam lectures his "class" on lessons learned from Great Britain on how to govern colonies: ruling them until they can govern themselves (***figure 46***). Horrifyingly, the cartoon

exhibits a “racist hierarchy,” placing the “dominant white American male,” Uncle Sam, in the center, refuting the “right of indigenous rule,” in that it depicts an unruly “new class” of colonies as “dark-skinned and childish.”[47] This cartoon in particular is an endorsement of imperial practices rather than a repudiation of them. For example, a February 1899 cartoon by Keppler showed “Philippine complications” in the background but also soothed problems with an overseas empire (***figure 47***). In later years, pro-imperialist cartoons would continue with the mocking beliefs of anti-expansionists, Cuba asking Uncle Sam as a “protector” (***figure 48***; ***figure 49***; ***figure 50***; ***figure 51***).

As the war of 1898 progressed, the U.S. gained a degree of imperial dominance, which was welcomed by *Puck*'s cartoonists. In the summer of 1896, Dalrymple unknowingly foreshadowed nationalistic themes in future illustrations with a cartoon about the battle over the gold standard, with the caption “No Party Lines When the National Honor Is In Peril,” creating created a sense of nationalism (***figure 52***).[48] One of those future illustrations was Keppler’s June 1898 cartoon, with the caption, “the survival of the fittest” (***figure 53***). Uncle Sam stands dominant in the cartoon's foreground, while Spain falters, after blows by Uncle Sam have weakened it, held up by the European powers of Austria and Germany, with France running to its aid, while the imperial powers of Britain and Japan stand by and watch.[49] Kahn and West interpret this cartoon as contending that the United States had not sought the war of 1898, and they note this is interesting because “the United States easily defeated the antiquated Spanish military.” In the war’s later months, Dalrymple and Pughe drew cartoons that showcased American imperial strength. One of the cartoons shows Uncle Sam comfortably leaning against a wall with a sign at the top reading “What Killed Spain? Inquest Going On,” while the body of “Spain” is lying in the center of the scene on a stretcher with European rulers wondering what happened and the Greek muse Clio writing down the “history” (***figure 54***). Another cartoon is more poignant, showing Neptune sitting amid the sunken remains of the outmoded Spanish

fleet, stunned that ships are following around him since the sea should know, in terms of mythology, if there are vessels below the surface (***figure 55***).

Other cartoons continued the slew of pro-imperialist illustrations. In January 1897, Dalrymple drew a cartoon, declaring in its caption, "Patient waiters are no losers" as Uncle Sam waits for ripening apples "Cuba," "Hawaii" and "Canada" to drop into his basket (***figure 56***). While this not outwardly imperialist, it has a dominating tone. In contrast, cartoons in mid-1898 by Keppler are rabidly pro-expansionist (***figure 57***; ***figure 58***). One of these cartoons even portrays America's declaration of war against Spain "in altruistic terms" and another shows the U.S. purportedly handing off power to the Cuban people under a watchful eye.[50]

While the war was progressing, imperialist domination of subjugated peoples was supported by those on the *Puck* staff. Kahn and West write that while *Puck* was originally opposed to the Spanish-American War, it went along with militaristic patriotism during the war, supporting the US holding "onto island possessions, chiefly Cuba and the Philippines" when other Democratic-leaning publications did not.[51] For example, Dalrymple drew Uncle Sam, whose battleships surrounded Cuba, pulling on the ear of Filipino revolutionary leader, Emilio Aguinaldo, who was riding a seahorse labeled "dictatorship." Uncle Sam, in this cartoon, tells Aguinaldo that "Say, young fellow! You've behaved pretty well; but some of your actions are suspicious. Just remember that I've got my eye on you!" (***figure 59***) Aguinaldo, a late rebel leader of the Filipino anti-imperial resistance, following the death of two other leaders, Jose Rizal and Andrew Bonifacio, was drawn in a manner that invokes a racial stereotype.[52] This is because Dalrymple draws Aguinaldo as monkeylike and subhuman, not having any feet on the ground, while Uncle Sam has his feet firmly planted on the ground and towers over Aguinaldo, with his finger wagging at Aguinaldo's actions.

As the war ended, writers and illustrators united behind the new US empire. In 1899 Darlymple showed Aguinaldo as a racial caricature being "smashed" by the fist of U.S. imperial power (***figure 60***). One cartoon by Keppler, the same year, showed McKinley trying to coax an adamant Aguinaldo to vie for "peace," with figures in the background labeled "Cuba," "Puerto Rico," and "Hawaii" accepting it, as Keppler implies, without resistance to the scale of Aguinaldo (***figure 61***). Another one showed Uncle Sam, Columbia and military officer watching a small group of elderly people with a banner claiming that "Aguinaldo [is] Our Hero" (***figure 62***) There was even an illustration, by Ehrhart, which fully endorsed the "civilizing" objective of American colonialism in the Philippines. It did this by implying that the people are "unruly" and need Western discipline to straighten them out! (***figure 63***)

Concluding thoughts

With a circulation of over 90,000, *Puck* garnered huge influence. While this was not a wide reaching as the *New York World,* which had a circulation almost nine times larger. As of 1898, *Puck*'s illustrators were well known. After 1899, *Puck* continued to publish cartoons that showed the U.S. as a new colonial power and supported Britain in the Boer War against "barbarous" savages.[53] Still, *Puck* faltered, and its circulation began to plummet. By 1914, the "era's premier magazine of humor and satire," had a low point of a circulation of only 12,500, down from its high of 125,000 in 1884, four years later it ceased publication after William Randolph Hearst bought it and closed it down.[54] In its heyday, *Puck* commanded influence as the first successful humor/comic magazine and paved the way to humor publications such as *The Onion* and *MAD* magazine, or the video-based *College Humor* and faltering *cracked.com*. While this essay does not tell the full story of *Puck* from mid-1896 to early 1899, it provides a stepping stone for further exploration by interested scholars to continue the journey and write about *Puck*'s last years, not just its heyday.

Appendix 1:

Most of these cartoons come from the Library of Congress, but a handful come from other sources, primarily the Yale University Library. For those sources, their use in this appendix is covered under 17 U.S. Code § 107, which allows copyrighted work to be reproduced "for purposes such as criticism, comment, news reporting, teaching (including multiple copies for classroom use), scholarship, or research, is not an infringement of copyright." In the case of these reproductions, they are being used in terms of scholarship and research, and perhaps criticism, with their use for nonprofit educational purposes. As such, I would say their use in this appendix constitutes a form of fair use.

Figure 1: *Udo Keppler's 1904 "Next!" in Puck*

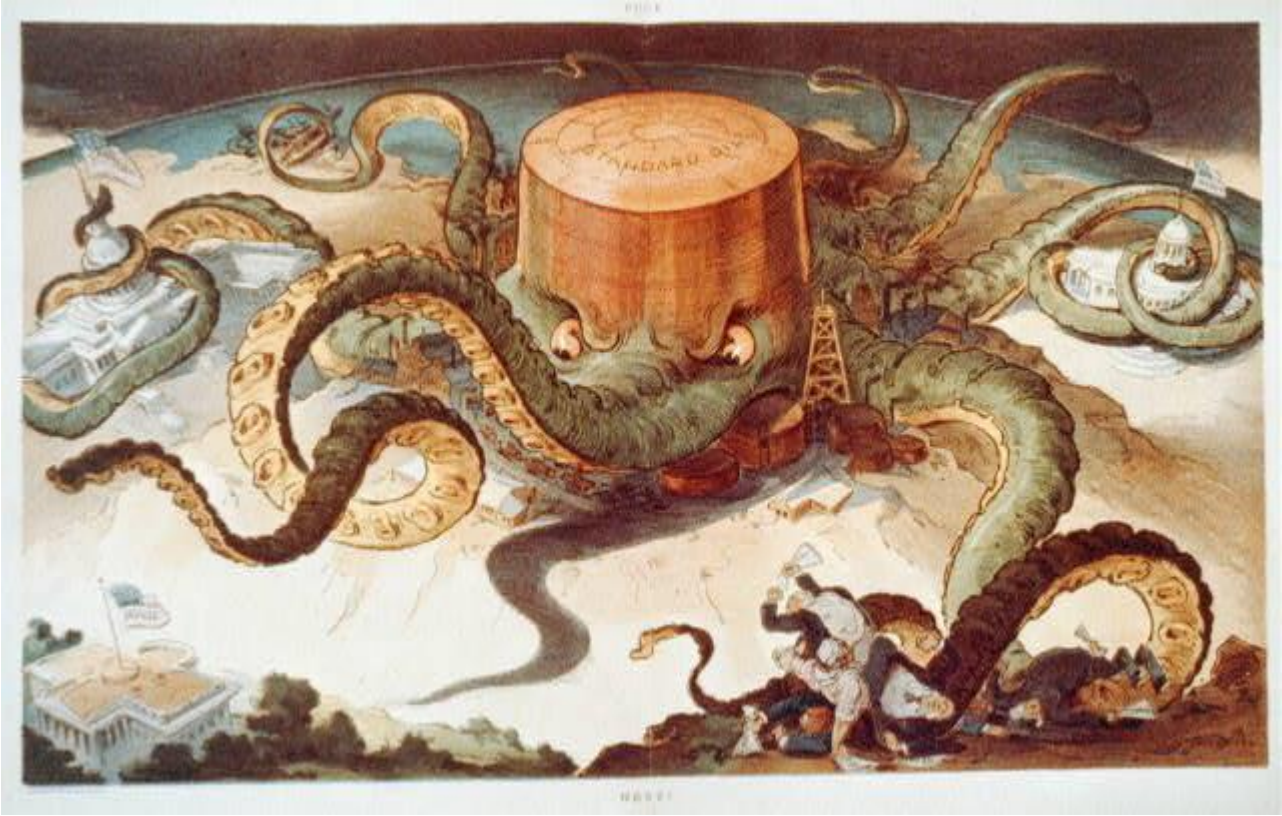


Figure 2: *Louis Dalrymple's "The Wail of the Jingoes" in Puck, Feb. 20 1895*

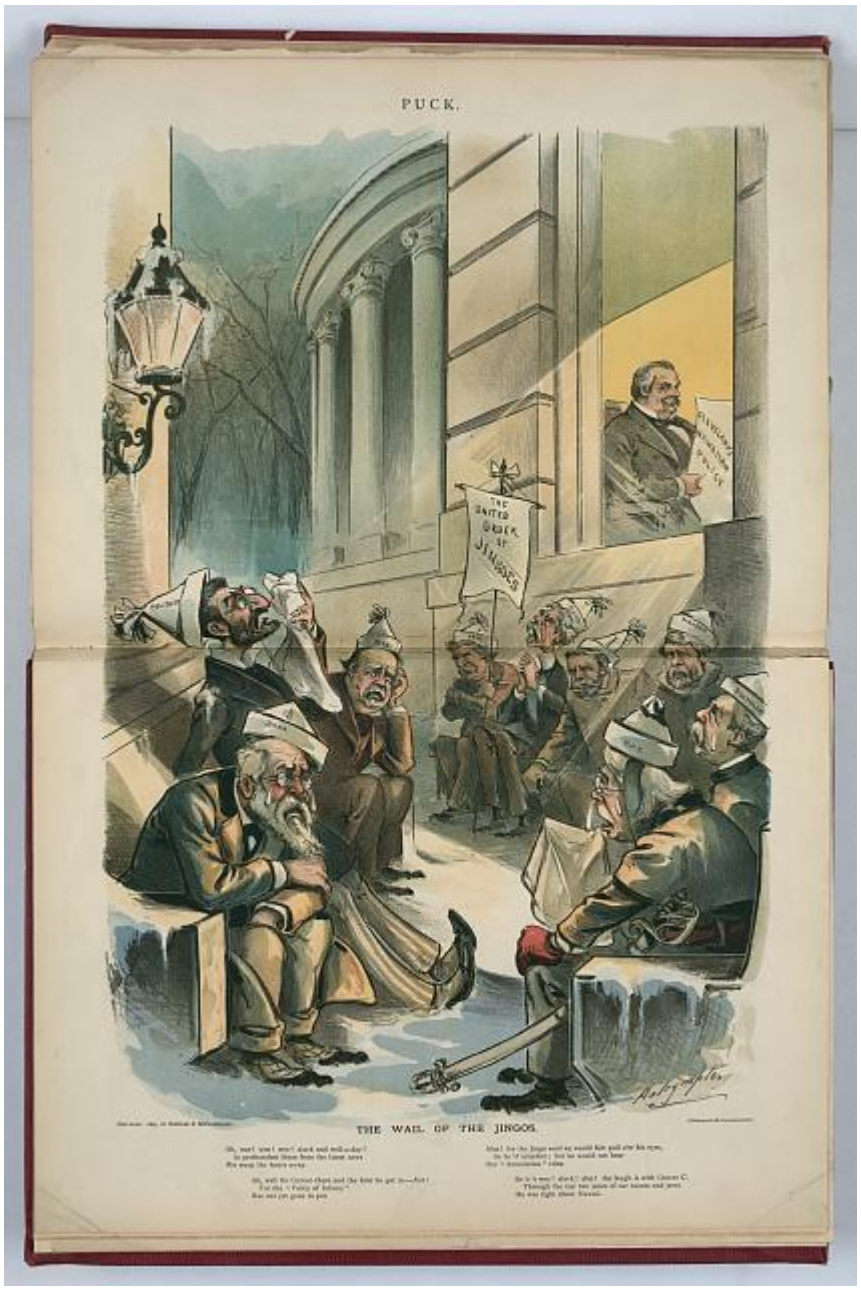


Figure 3: *C.J. Taylor's "Why Is He Happy?" in* Puck, *May 12 1897*

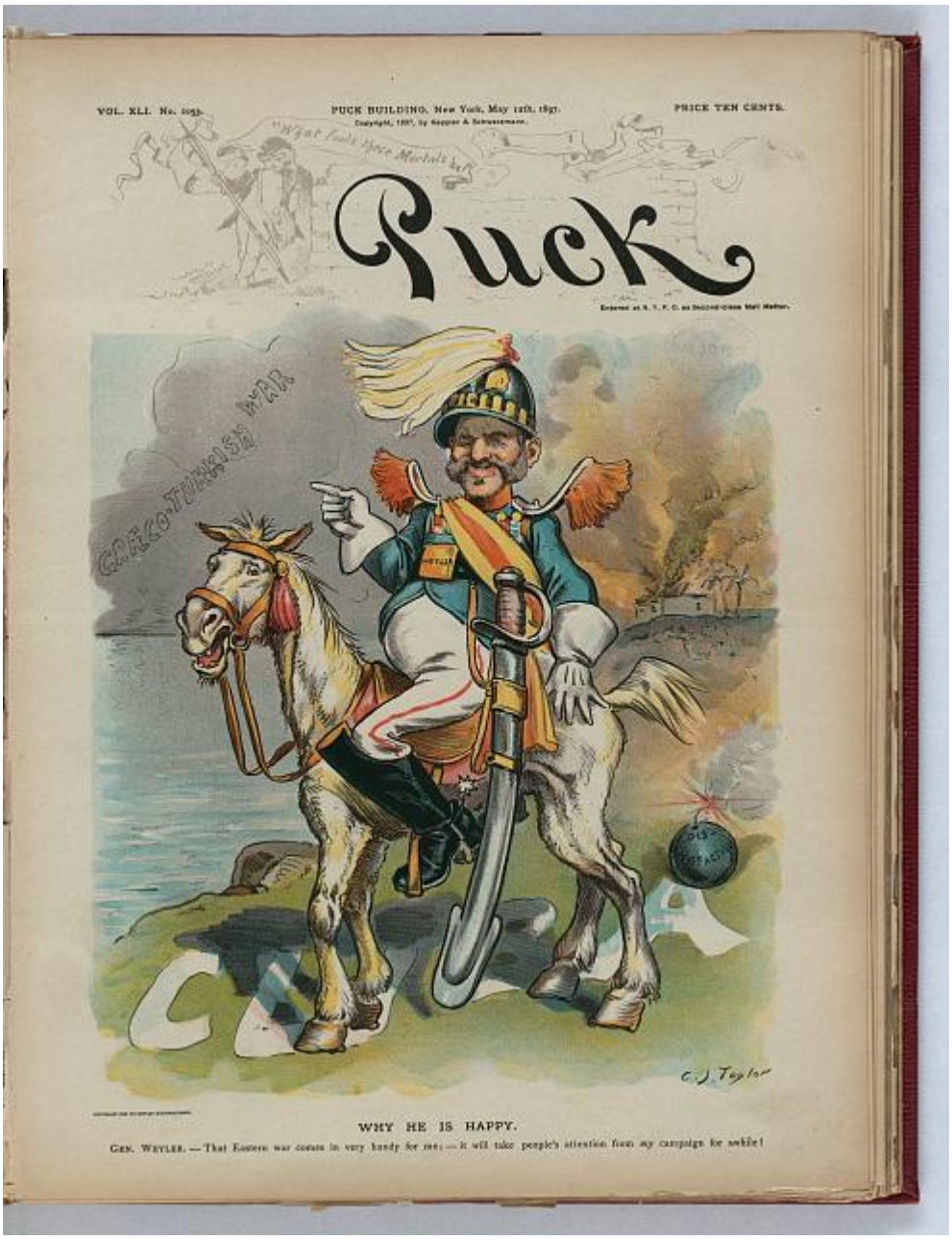

VOL. XLI. No. 1053.
PUCK BUILDING, New York, May 12th, 1897.
PRICE TEN CENTS.
Puck
GRECO-TURKISH WAR
C. J. Taylor
WHY HE IS HAPPY.
GEN. WEYLER. — That Eastern war comes in very handy for me; — it will take people's attention from my campaign for awhile!

Figure 4: *C.J. Taylor's Spain's New Street Crier – With The Same Old Cry," in Puck, Nov. 24 1897*

Figure 5: *J.S. Pughe's "She Is Getting Too Feeble to Hold Them" in Puck, Nov. 18 1896*

Figure 6: *Udo Keppler's "Poor Spain!" in Puck, Mar. 2, 1898*

Figure 7: *Udo Keppler's "The sacrifice to a crumbling idol" in Puck, Aug 24, 1898*

Figure 8: *Udo Keppler's "This will be an internal explosion" in Puck, June 8 1898*

Figure 9: *Udo Keppler's "Why peace reigns" in Puck, Apr. 6, 1898*

Figure 10: *Udo Keppler's "A Dying Light" in Puck, June 15, 1898*

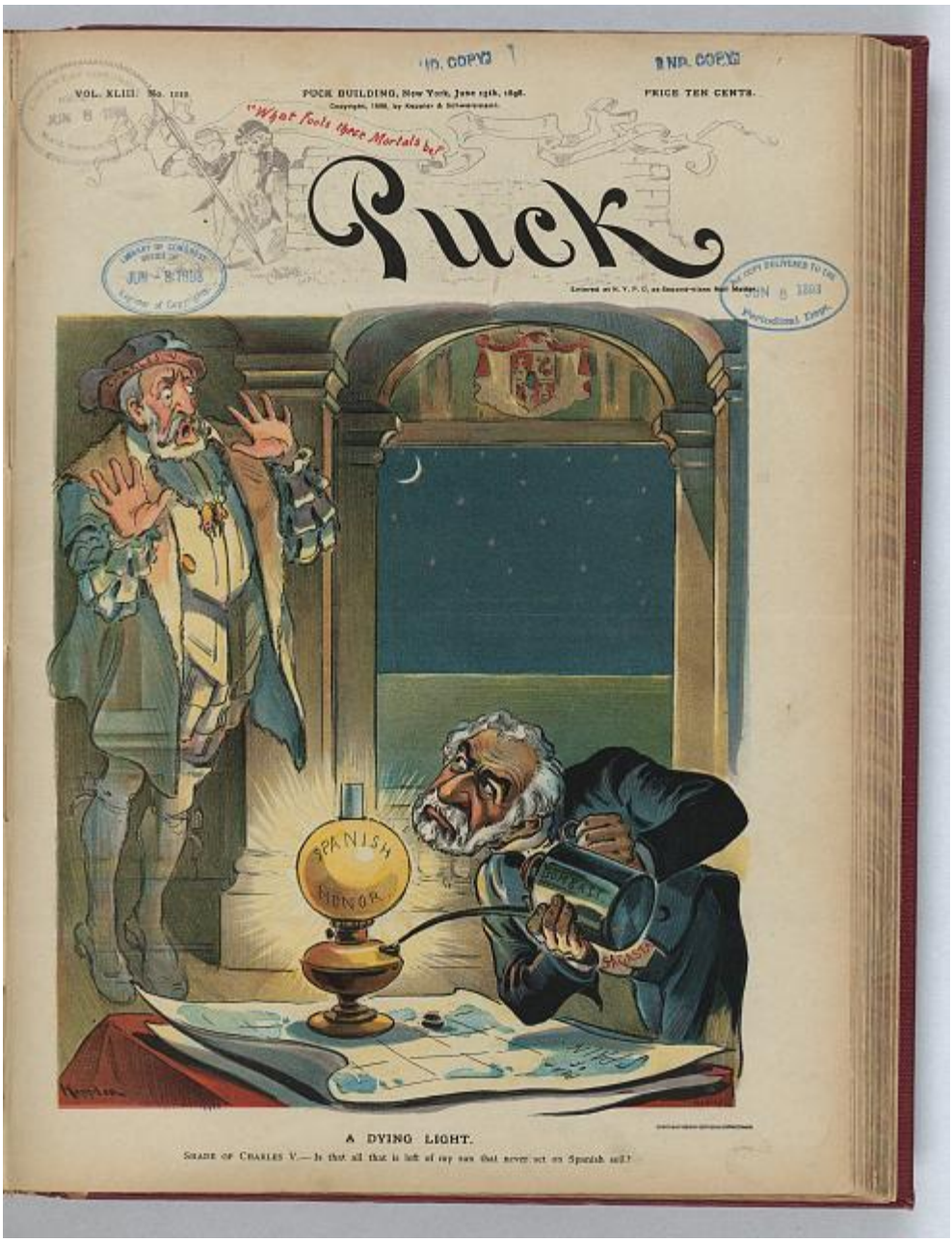

VOL. XLIII. No. 1112
PUCK BUILDING, New York, June 15th, 1898.
PRICE TEN CENTS.
"What fools these Mortals be!"
Puck
SPANISH HONOR
A DYING LIGHT.
SHADE OF CHARLES V.—Is that all that is left of my sun that never set on Spanish soil?

Figure 11: *Louis Dalrymple's "Ready for Duty!," Puck, May 4 1898*

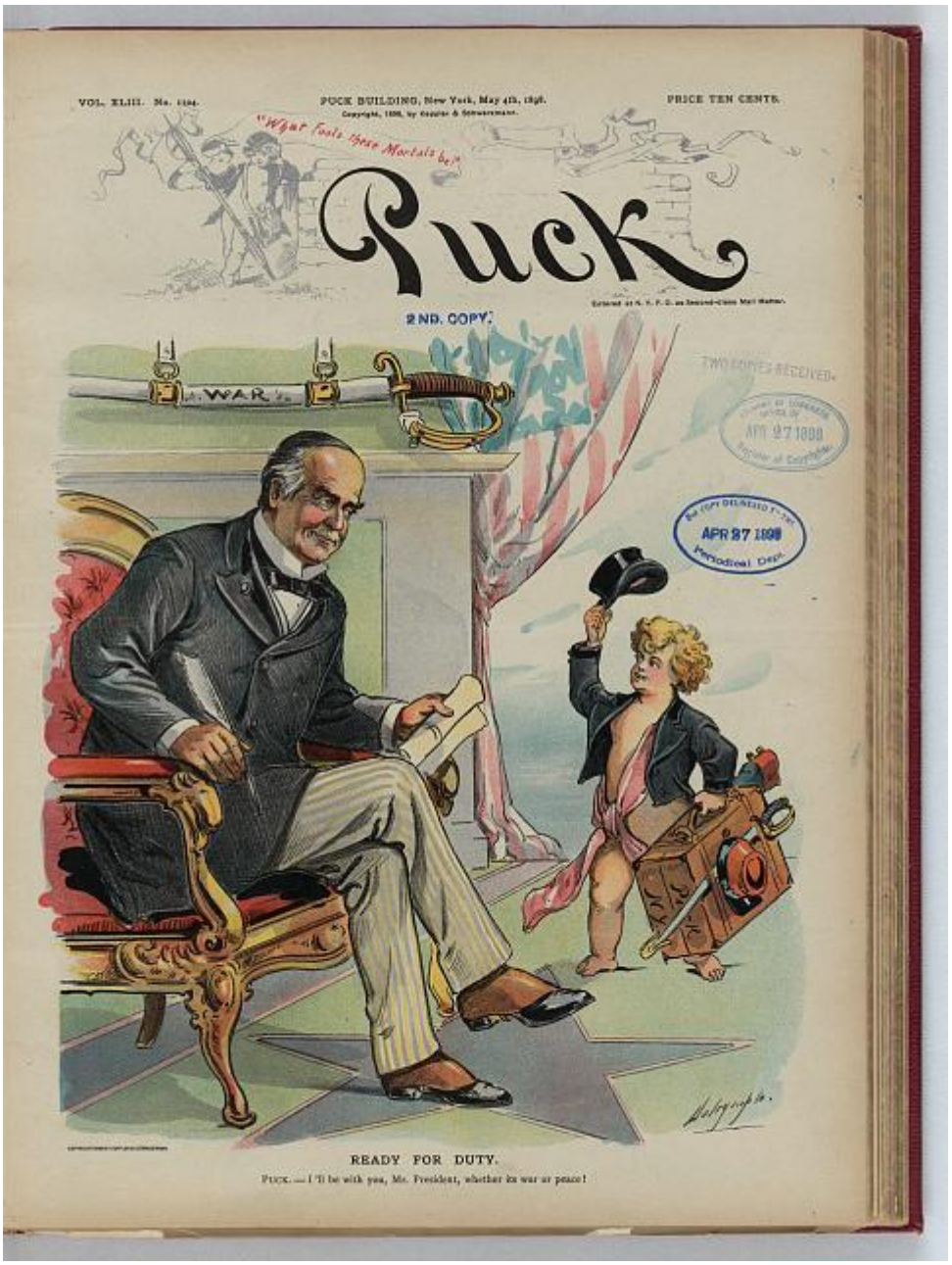

VOL. XLIII. No. 1104.
PUCK BUILDING, New York, May 4th, 1898.
PRICE TEN CENTS.
"What fools these Mortals be!"
Puck
2ND. COPY.
WAR
READY FOR DUTY.
PUCK.—I'll be with you, Mr. President, whether its war or peace!

Figure 12: *J.S. Pughe's "Anything for a scandal," Puck, Sept 28, 1898*

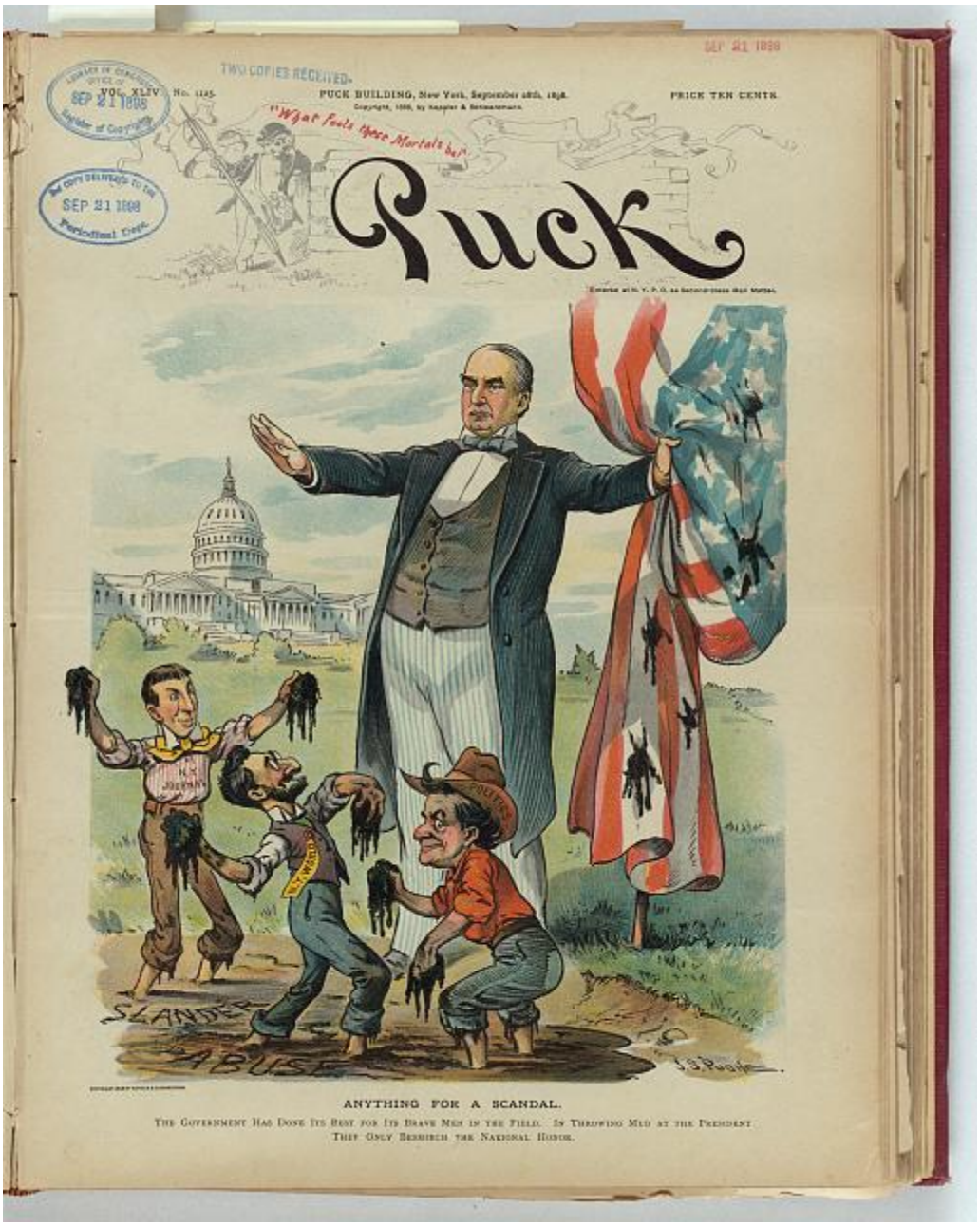

TWO COPIES RECEIVED
SEP 21 1898
VOL. XLIV No. 1135
PUCK BUILDING, New York, September 28th, 1898
PRICE TEN CENTS
"What fools these Mortals be!"
Puck
SLANDER
ABUSE
J.S. Pughe
ANYTHING FOR A SCANDAL.
The Government Has Done Its Best for Its Brave Men in the Field. In Throwing Mud at the President They Only Besmirch the National Honor.

Figure 13: *Louis Dalrymple's "Settling Affairs Of State," Puck, July 14 1897*

Figure 14: *Udo Keppler's "The Disciple of Farragut Is Worthy Of His Master," Puck, May 25 1898*

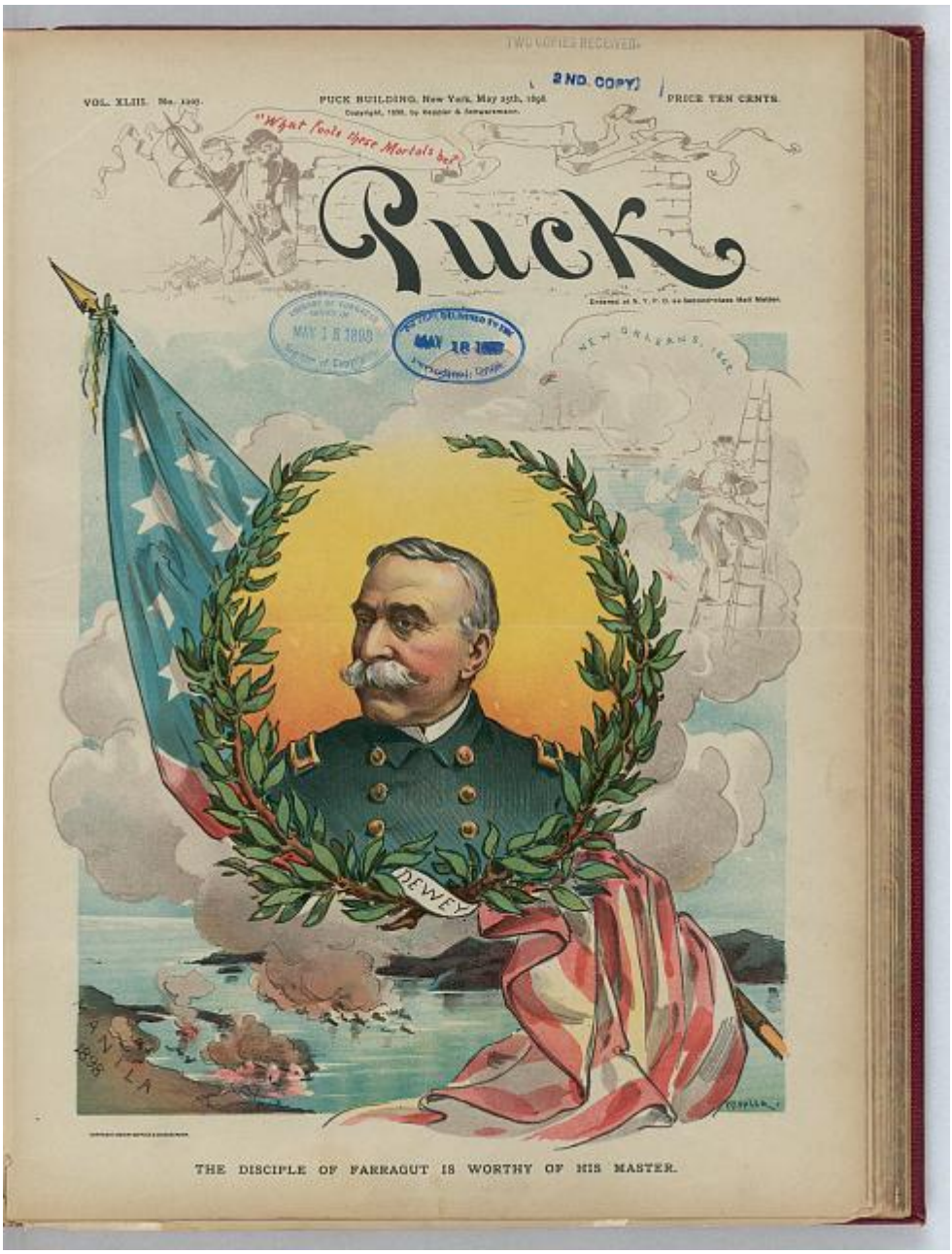


Figure 15: *Udo Keppler's "Celebrating July 4 1898- "the triumph of the American battle-ship","*

Puck, July 6 1898

Figure 16: *S.D. Ehrhart's "Proud of her boys," Puck, Jul 20 1898*

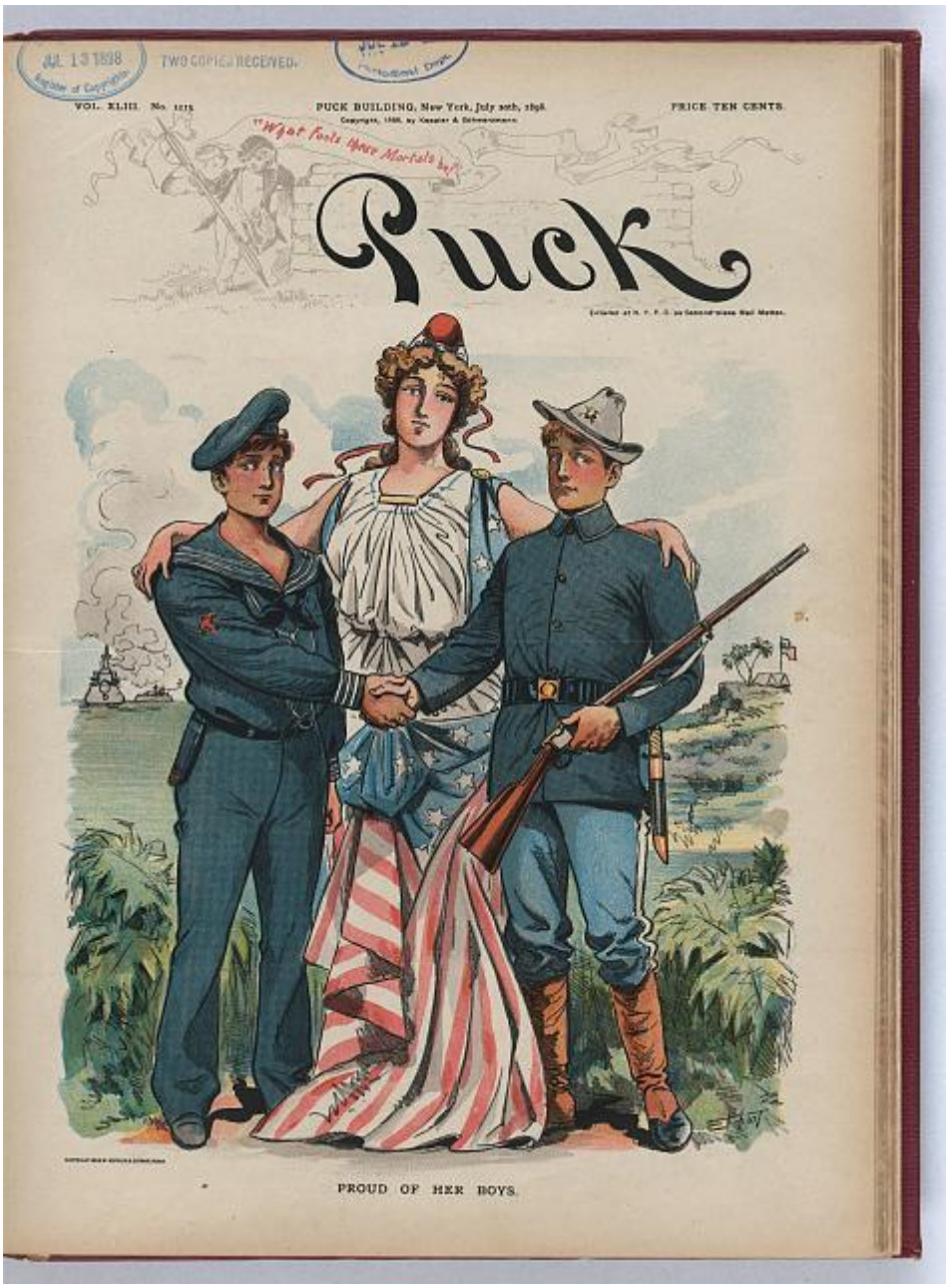


Figure 17: *Udo Keppler's "The Man Behind The Gun Will Settle This War," Puck, July 13 1898*

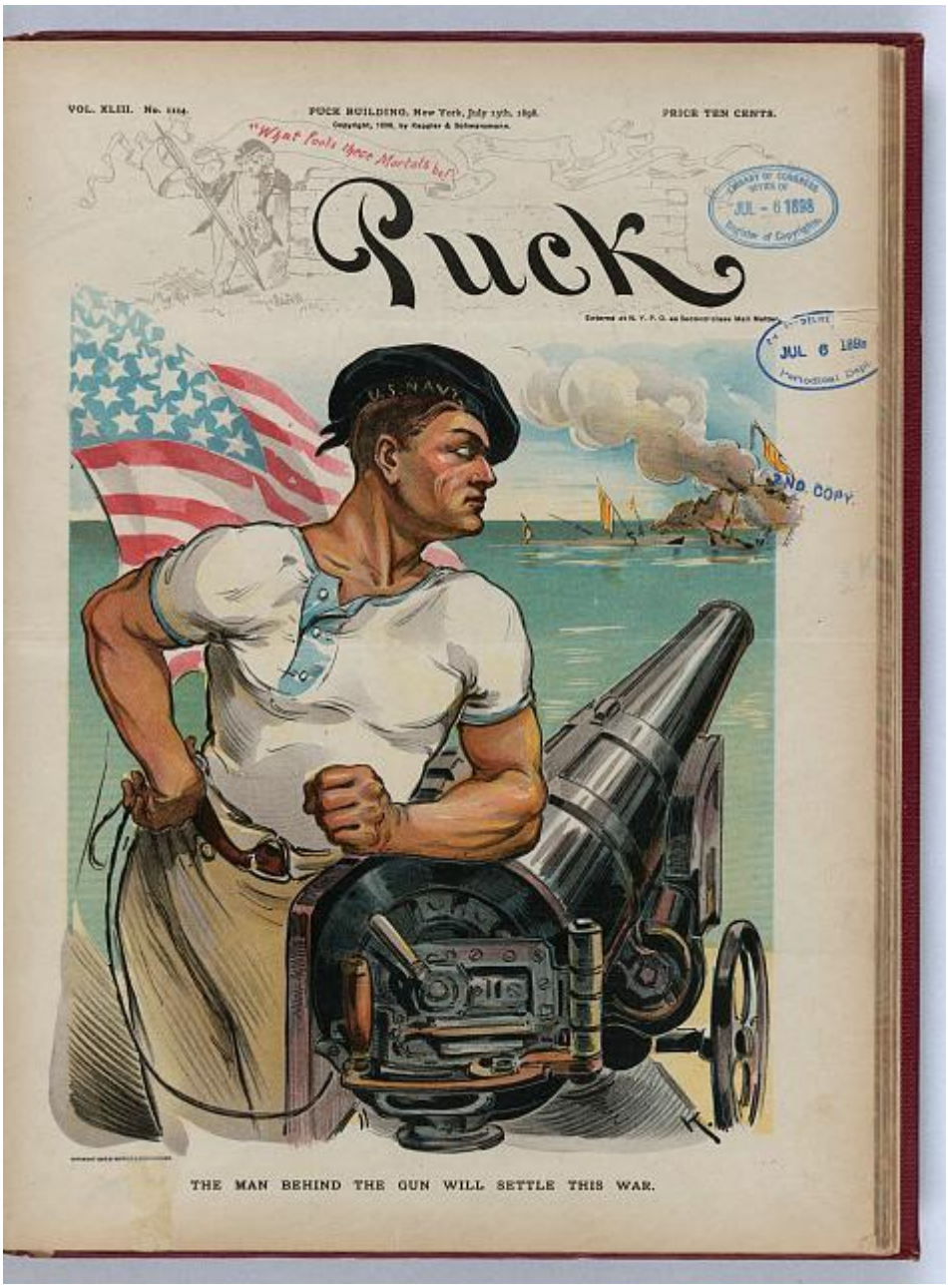

VOL. XLIII. No. 1114.
PUCK BUILDING, New York, July 13th, 1898.
PRICE TEN CENTS.
"What fools these Mortals be!"
Puck
JUL 6 1898
U.S. NAVY
THE MAN BEHIND THE GUN WILL SETTLE THIS WAR.

Figure 18: *McClelland Barclay's "Man the Guns!," 1942:*

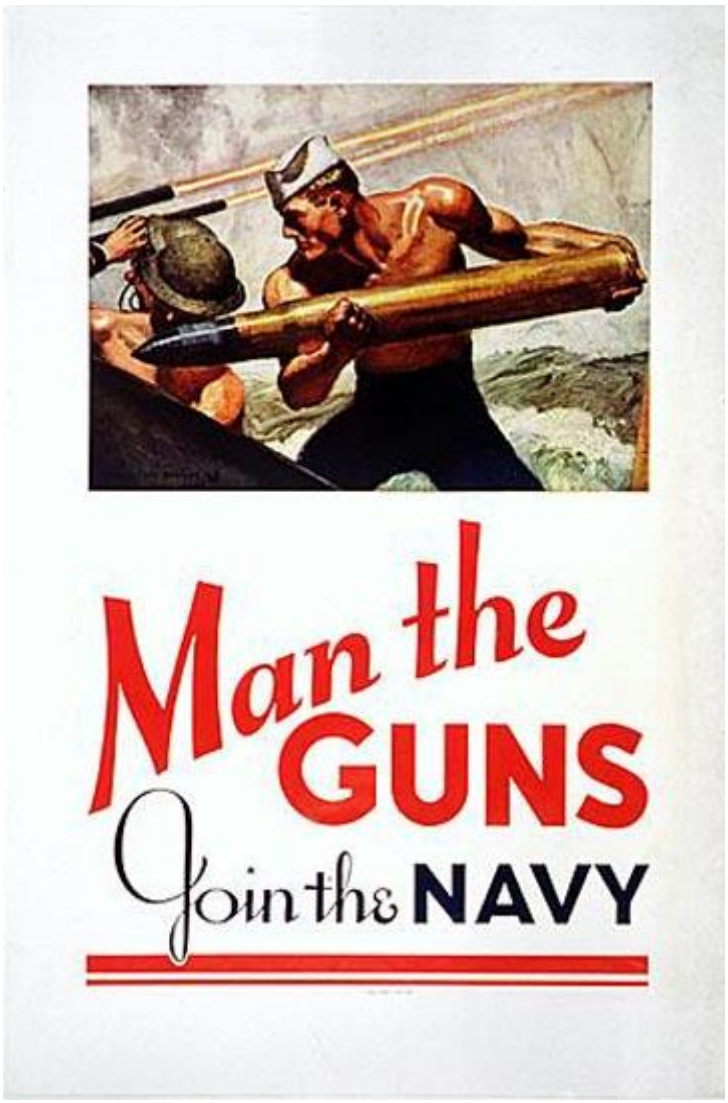


Figure 19: *Udo Keppler's "The Rough Riders," Puck, July 27 1898*

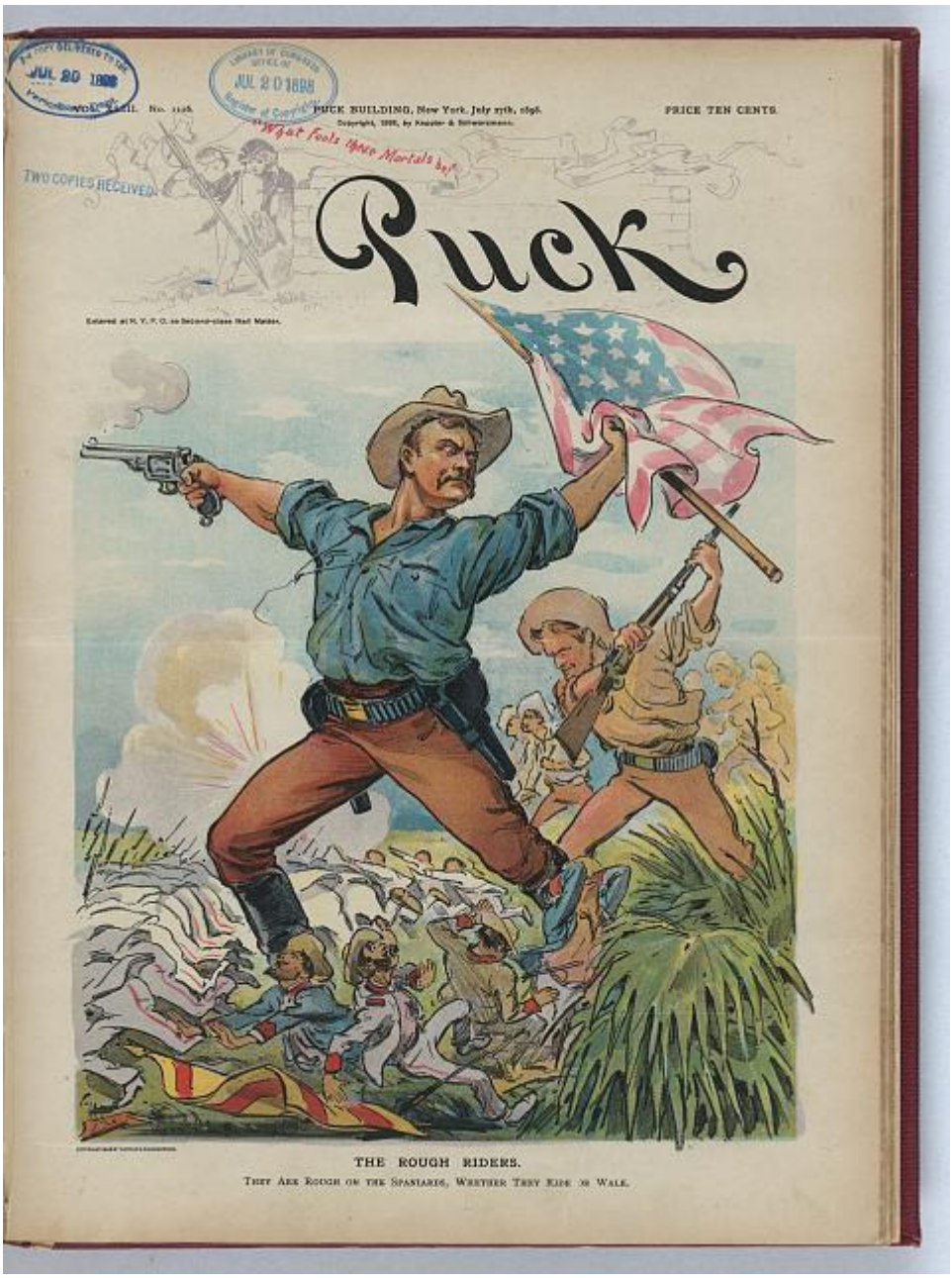

JUL 20 1898
TWO COPIES RECEIVED
PUCK BUILDING, New York, July 27th, 1898.
PRICE TEN CENTS
"What fools these Mortals be!"
Puck
THE ROUGH RIDERS.
They Are Rough on the Spaniards, Whether They Ride or Walk.

Figure 20: *C.J. Taylor's "The Cuban Melodrama," Puck, June 3 1896*

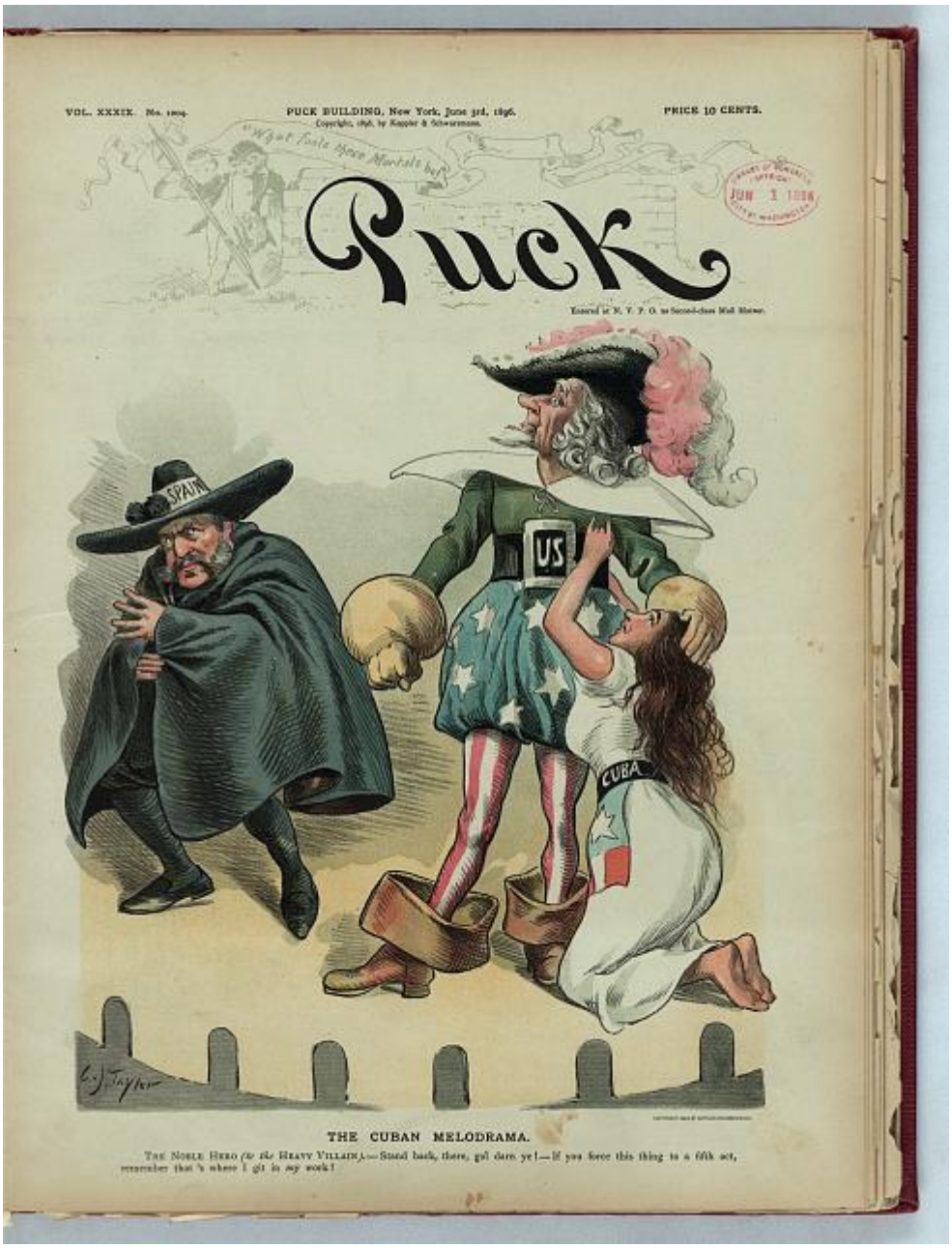

VOL. XXXIX. No. 1004. PUCK BUILDING, New York, June 3rd, 1896. PRICE 10 CENTS.
Copyright, 1896, by Keppler & Schwarzmann.
"What fools these Mortals be!"
Puck
Entered at N. Y. P. O. as Second-class Mail Matter.
JUN 1 1896
SPAIN
US
CUBA
C. J. Taylor
THE CUBAN MELODRAMA.
THE NOBLE HERO (to the HEAVY VILLAIN.)—Stand back, there, gol darn ye!—If you force this thing to a fifth act, remember that 's where I git in my work!

Figure 21: *Udo Keppler's "Time Nearly Up," Puck, Oct. 17 1897*

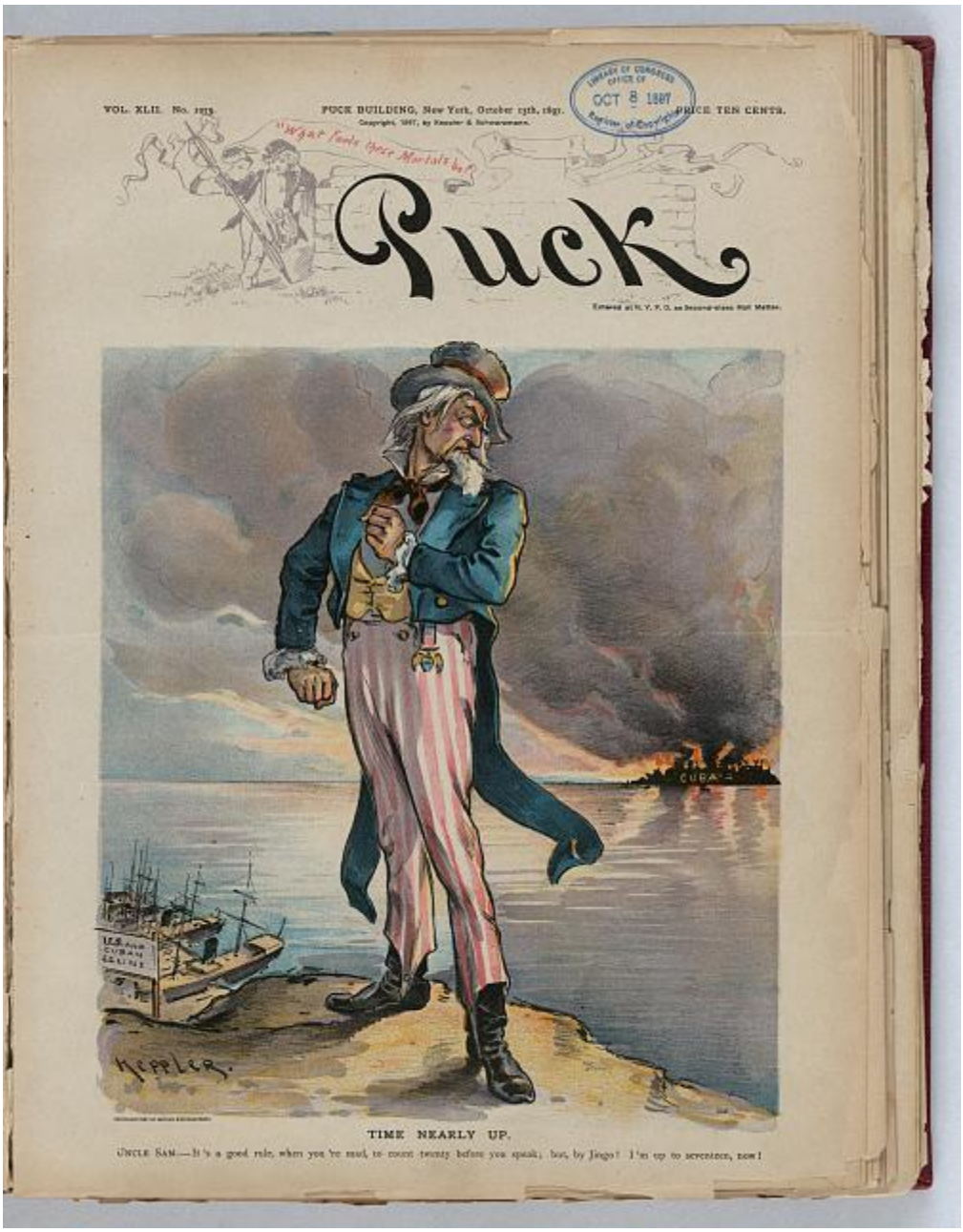

VOL. XLII. No. 1073
PUCK BUILDING, New York, October 13th, 1897.
PRICE TEN CENTS.
OCT 8 1897
"What fools these Mortals be!"
Puck
U.S. AND CUBAN S.S. LINE
CUBA
KEPPLER.
TIME NEARLY UP.
UNCLE SAM.—It's a good rule, when you're mad, to count twenty before you speak; but, by Jingo! I'm up to seventeen, now!

Figure 22: *Louis Dalrymple's "Its got to be sooner or later – and it looks like "sooner."," Puck, Apr. 27 1898*

Figure 23: *Louis Dalrymple's "The Duty Of The Hour:–To Save Her Not Only From Spain But From A Worse Fate," Puck, May 11, 1898*

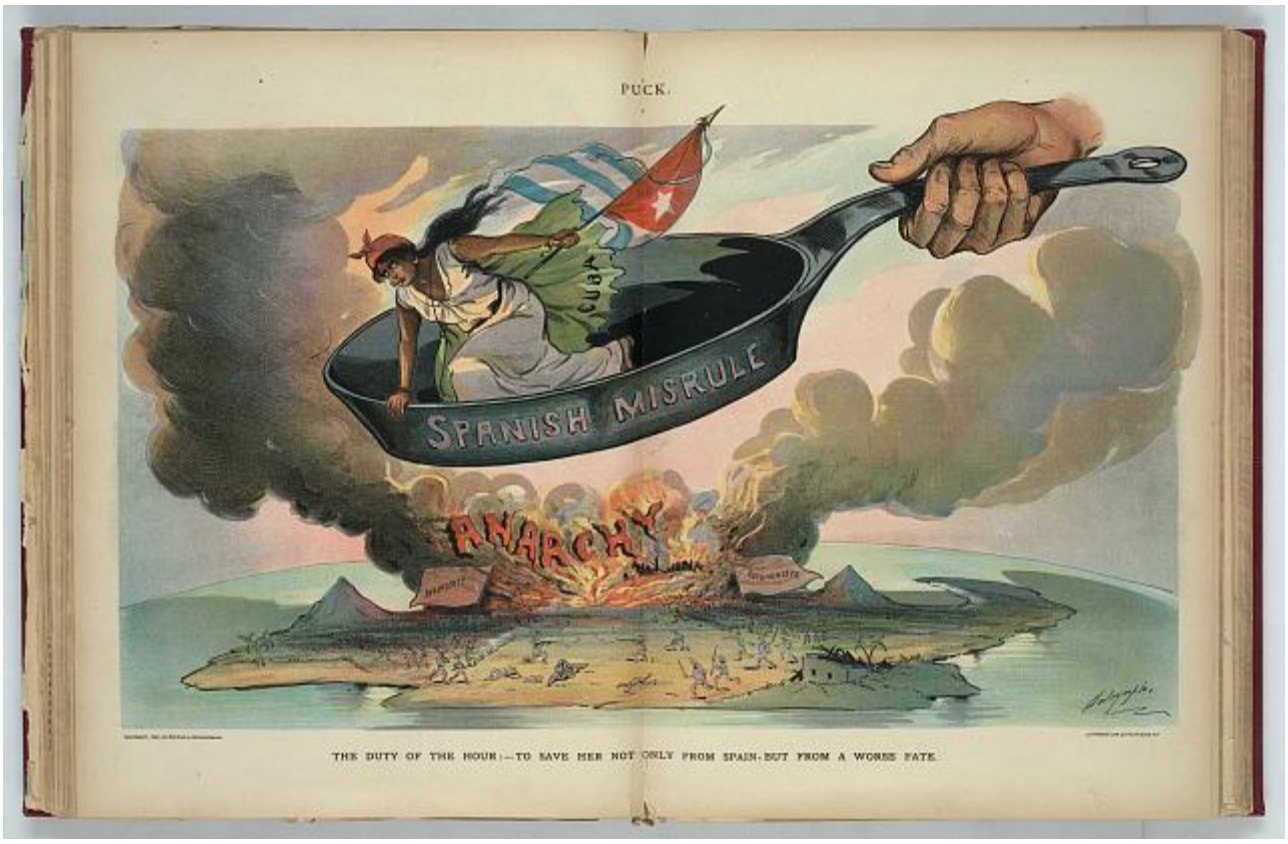


Figure 24: *Louis Dalrymple's "He Can't Let Go," Puck, Nov. 23 1898*

Figure 25: *Louis Dalrymple's "Save Me From My Friends!," Puck, Sep 7 1898*

Figure 26: *Udo Keppler's "Uncle Sam's Dream of Conquest and Carnage – caused by reading the Jingo Newspapers," Puck, Nov. 13 1895*

Figure 27: *Manuel Moliné's "Keep the Island so It Won't Get Lost," La Campana de Gracia, 1896*

Figure 28: *Udo Keppler's "Citizens For Trouble-Making Only," Puck, Mar. 24 1897*

Figure 29: *S.D. Ehrhart's "Our 'Civilized' Heathen," Puck, Sep 8 1897*

Figure 30: *Louis Dalrymple's "No Chance To Criticize," Puck, May 25 1898*

Figure 31: *Udo Keppler's "A Trifle Embarrassed," Puck, Aug 3 1898*

Figure 32: *J.S. Pughe's "A Set-Back for Jingoism," Puck, Dec. 2, 1896:*

A SET-BACK FOR JINGOISM.

CHORUS OF PUGNACIOUS POWERS. — What! — no bombardments, no battles, no bloodshed? — What is the world coming to, anyhow?

Figure 33: *Udo Keppler's "The Jingo Bully," Puck, Dec 22 1897*

Figure 34: *Udo Keppler's "Honor to McKinley!," Puck, Mar 23 1898*

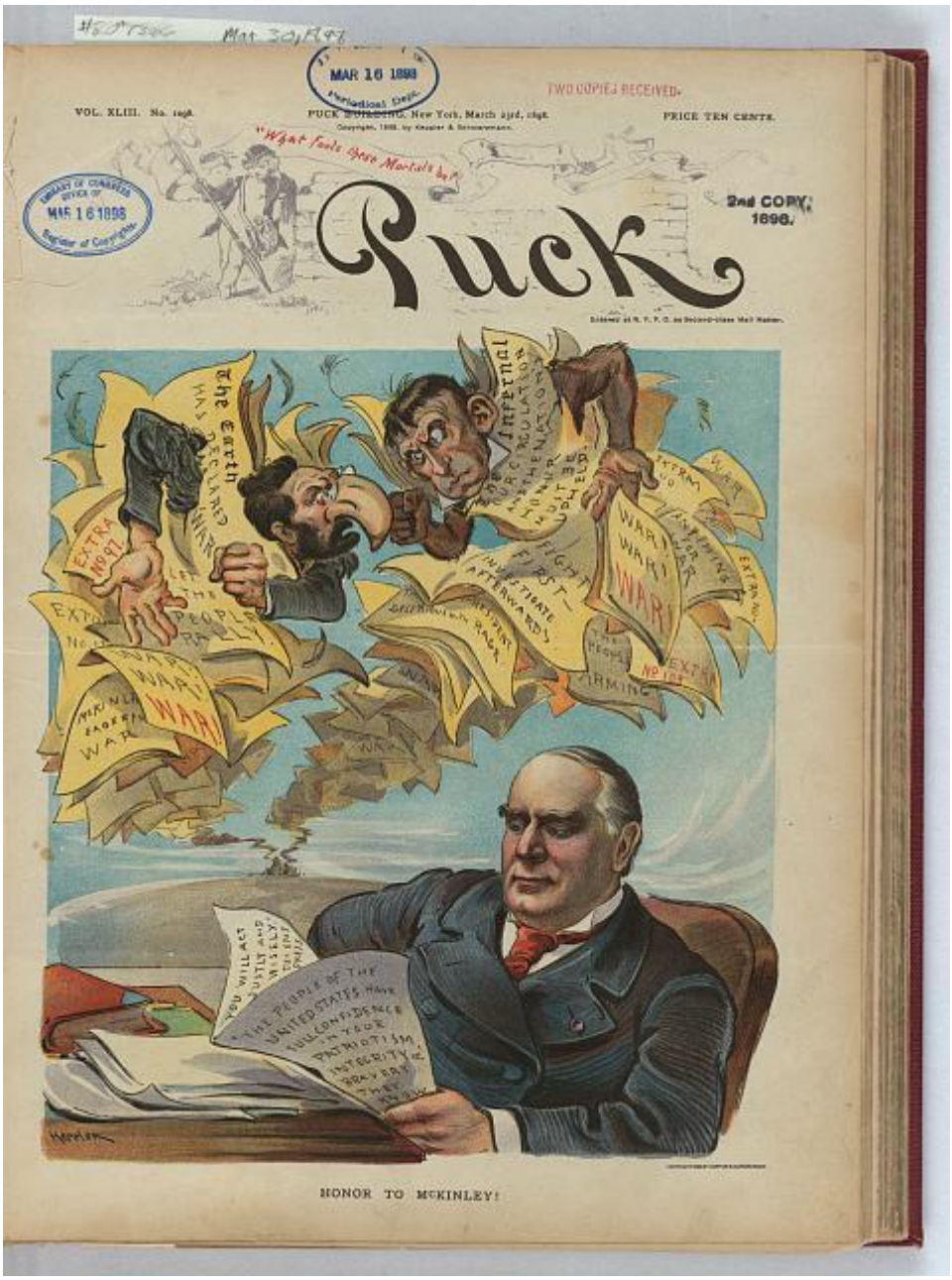

MAR 16 1898
TWO COPIES RECEIVED
VOL. XLIII. No. 1098. PUCK BUILDING, New York, March 23rd, 1898. PRICE TEN CENTS.
"What fools these Mortals be!"
Puck
2nd COPY, 1898.
The Earth HAS DECLARED WAR
WAR! WAR! WAR!
THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES HAVE FULL CONFIDENCE IN YOUR PATRIOTISM, INTEGRITY, &c.
HONOR TO McKINLEY!

Figure 35: *Louis Dalrymple's "An Easter Sermon," Puck, Apr. 13 1898*

Figure 36: *Udo Keppler's "The Yellow Pest – Putting Its Nose into Everything," Puck, July 6 1898*

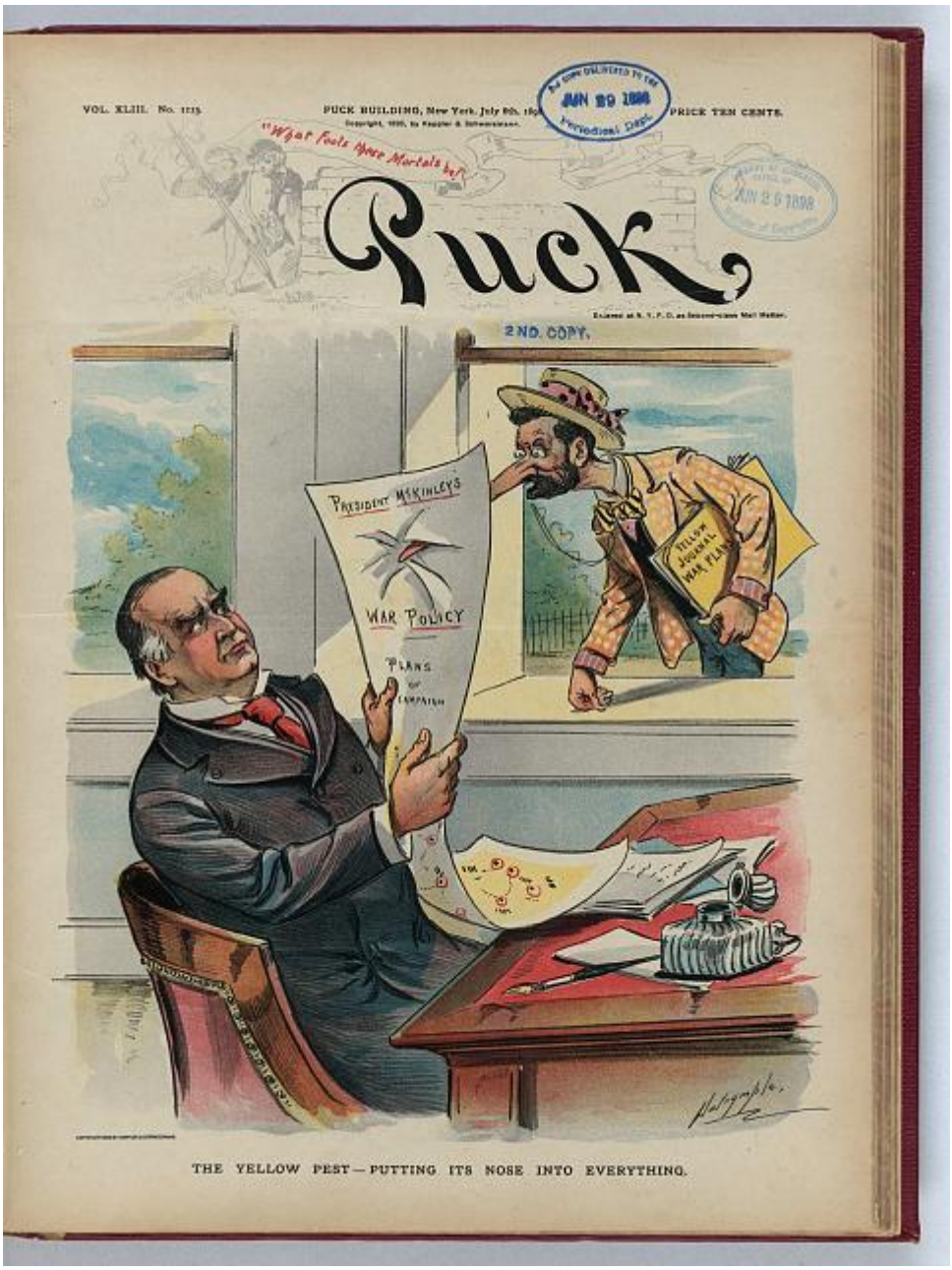


Figure 37: *Udo Keppler's "Putting Yellow Journalism In Its Place," Puck, Aug. 17 1898*

VOL. XLIV. No. 1133.
PUCK BUILDING, New York, August 17th, 1898.
PRICE TEN CENTS.
"What Fools These Mortals be!"
Puck
SHAFTER
PUTTING YELLOW JOURNALISM IN ITS PLACE.
The Hero of Santiago Has Done Many Good Things, and This is Not the Least of Them.

Figure 38: *Louis Dalrymple's "Our Queer Way," Puck, Nov. 2 1898*

Figure 39: *Udo Keppler's "Puck To The Rescue," Puck, Oct. 5 1898*

Figure 40: *Louis Dalrymple's "Driven To It," Puck, Aug. 16 1899*

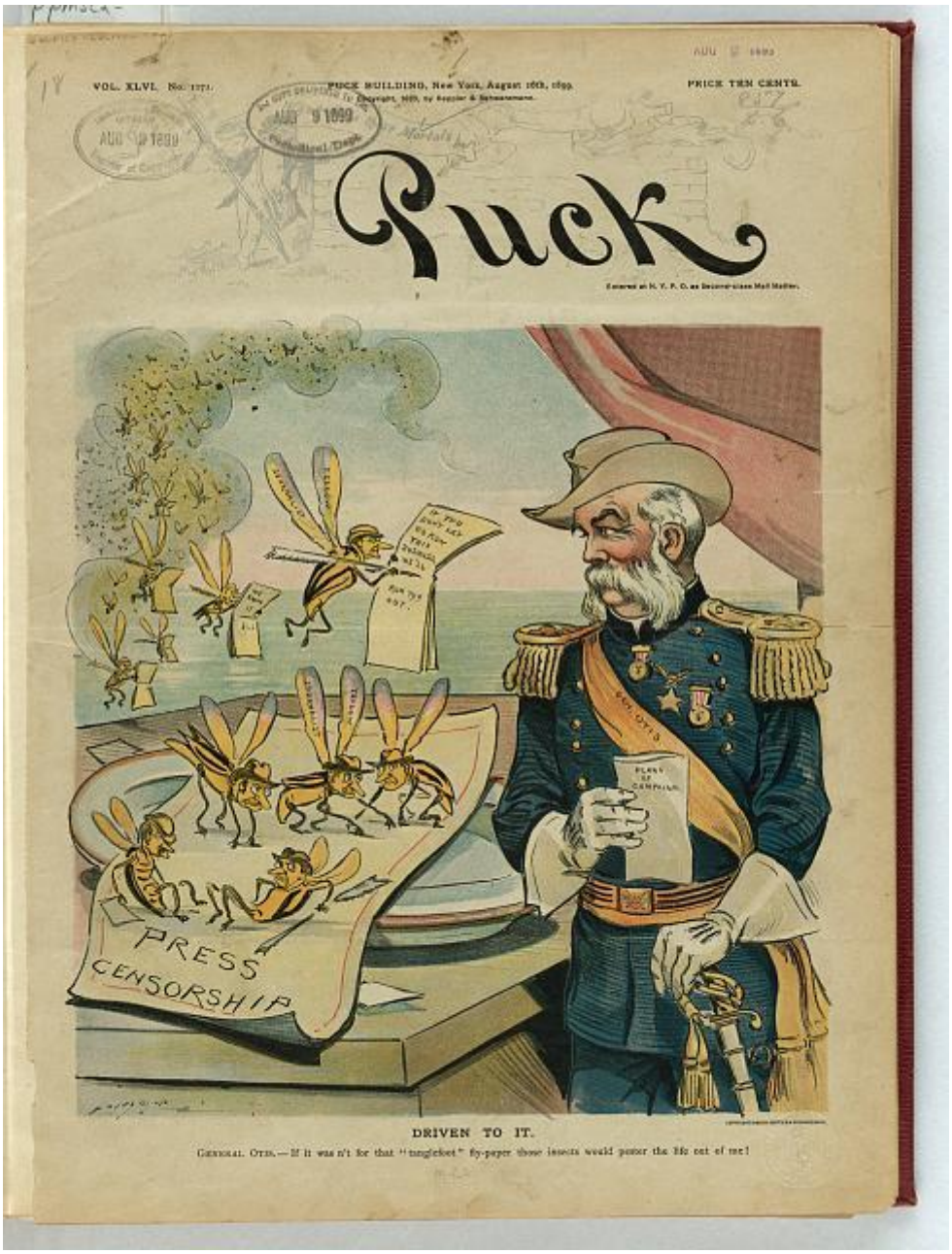

VOL. XLVI. No. 1171.
PUCK BUILDING, New York, August 16th, 1899.
PRICE TEN CENTS.
Puck
PRESS CENSORSHIP
DRIVEN TO IT.
GENERAL OTIS.—If it was n't for that "ungicket" fly-paper those insects would pester the life out of me!

Figure 41: *Louis Dalrymple's "After Many Years. Britannia—Daughter! Columbia—Mother!," Puck, June 15 1898*

Figure 42: *Louis Dalrymple's "United We Stand for Civilization and Peace," Puck, June 8 1898*

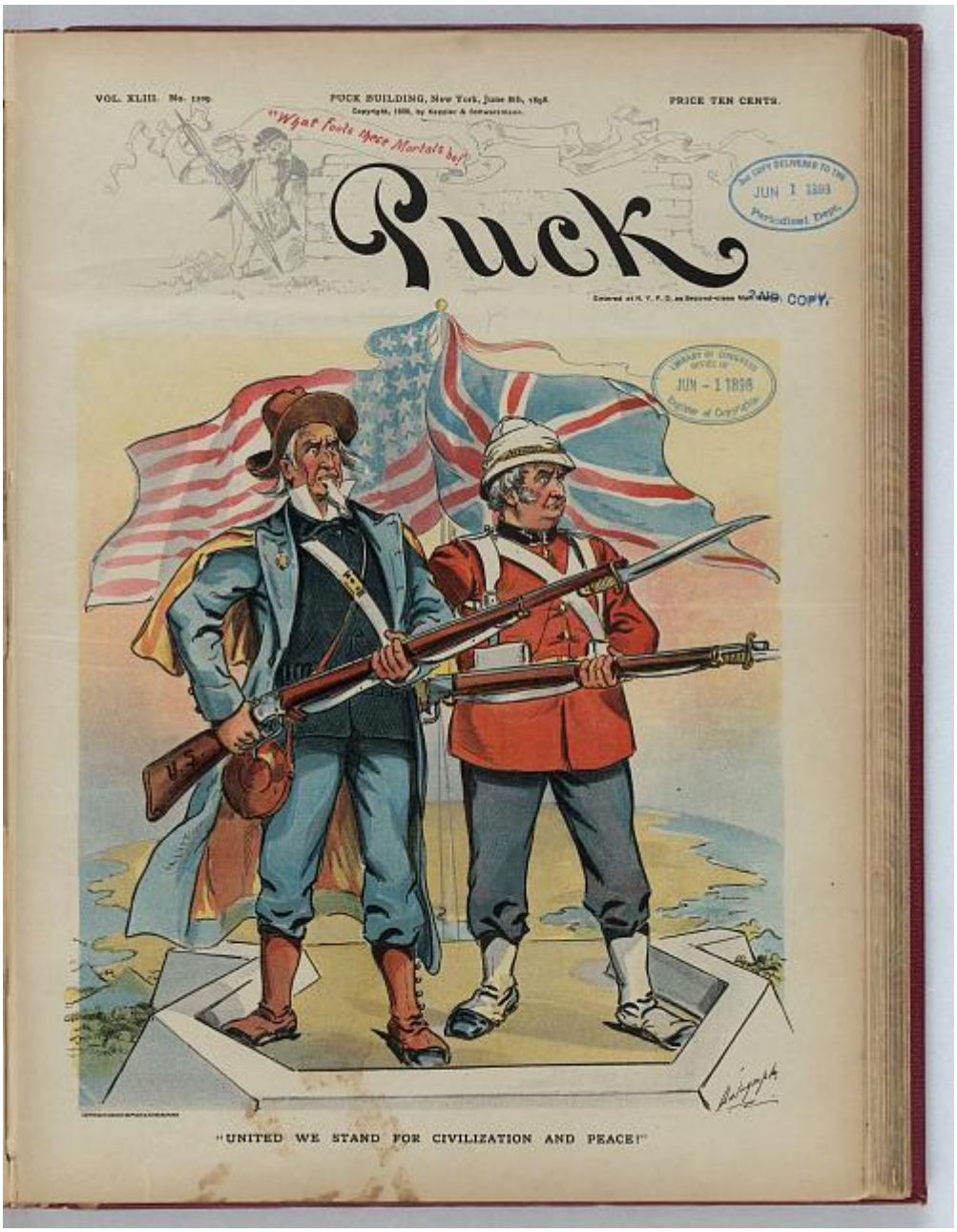


Figure 43: *Udo Keppler's "One Of The Causes," Puck, Dec. 28 1898*

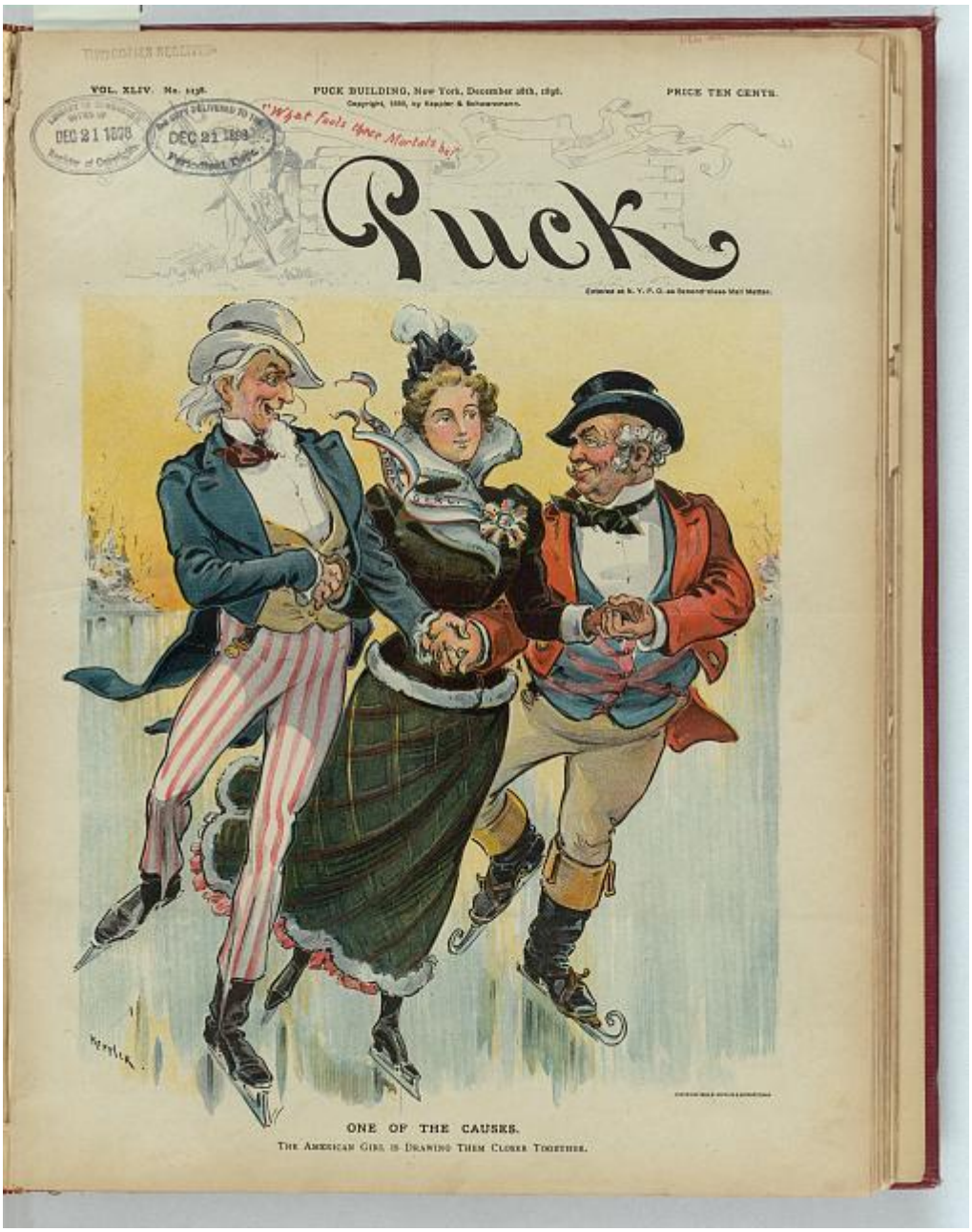
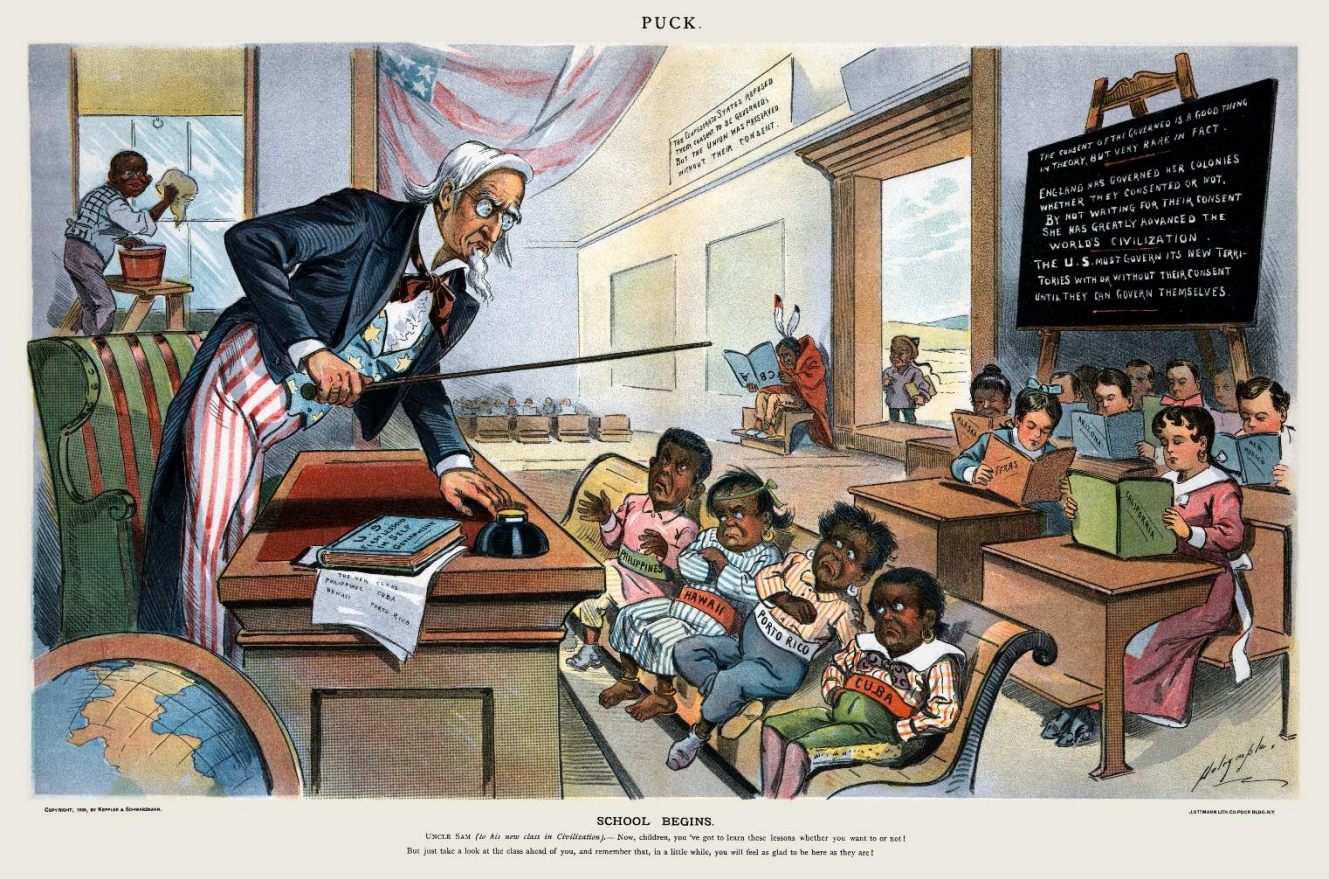

VOL. XLIV. No. 1138.
PUCK BUILDING, New York, December 28th, 1898.
PRICE TEN CENTS.
"What fools these Mortals be!"
Puck
ONE OF THE CAUSES.
The American Girl is Drawing Them Closer Together.

Figure 44: *Udo Keppler's "—And Peace Shall Rule," Puck, May 3 1899*

Figure 45: *Louis Dalrymple's "Who Will Haul It Down?," Puck, Jan 11 1899*

Figure 46: *Louis Dalrymple's "School Begins," Puck, Jan. 25 1899*


PUCK.
THE CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED IS A GOOD THING IN THEORY, BUT VERY RARE IN FACT.
ENGLAND HAS GOVERNED HER COLONIES WHETHER THEY CONSENTED OR NOT, BY NOT WAITING FOR THEIR CONSENT SHE HAS GREATLY ADVANCED THE WORLD'S CIVILIZATION.
THE U.S. MUST GOVERN ITS NEW TERRITORIES WITH OR WITHOUT THEIR CONSENT UNTIL THEY CAN GOVERN THEMSELVES.
THE CONFEDERATE STATES REFUSED THEIR CONSENT TO BE GOVERNED, BUT THE UNION WAS PRESERVED WITHOUT THEIR CONSENT.
PHILIPPINES
HAWAII
PORTO RICO
CUBA
TEXAS
CALIFORNIA
COPYRIGHT, 1899, BY KEPPLER & SCHWARZMANN.
J. ST. IMMAN LITH. CO. PECK BLDG. N.Y.

SCHOOL BEGINS.

UNCLE SAM *(to his new class in Civilization).*— Now, children, you 've got to learn these lessons whether you want to or not! But just take a look at the class ahead of you, and remember that, in a little while, you will feel as glad to be here as they are!

Figure 47: *Udo Keppler's "The Duty Of Great Nations," Puck, Feb. 15 1899*

PUCK
BRITANNIA
AUSTRALIA
IRELAND
SCOTLAND
INDIA
CANADA
EGYPT
AFRICA
PHILIPPINE COMPLICATIONS
CIVILIZATION
Keppler.
COPYRIGHT, 1899, BY KEPPLER & SCHWARZMANN.
THE DUTY OF GREAT NATIONS.
JOHN BULL.—Don't get discouraged, Sam! I've had just that sort of trouble for three hundred years, while I've been building this monument. It has cost many human lives and much money, but the whole world, as well as England, has benefited by it.

Figure 48: *Udo Keppler's "The Dream of the Anti-Expansionist," Puck, Apr. 19 1899*

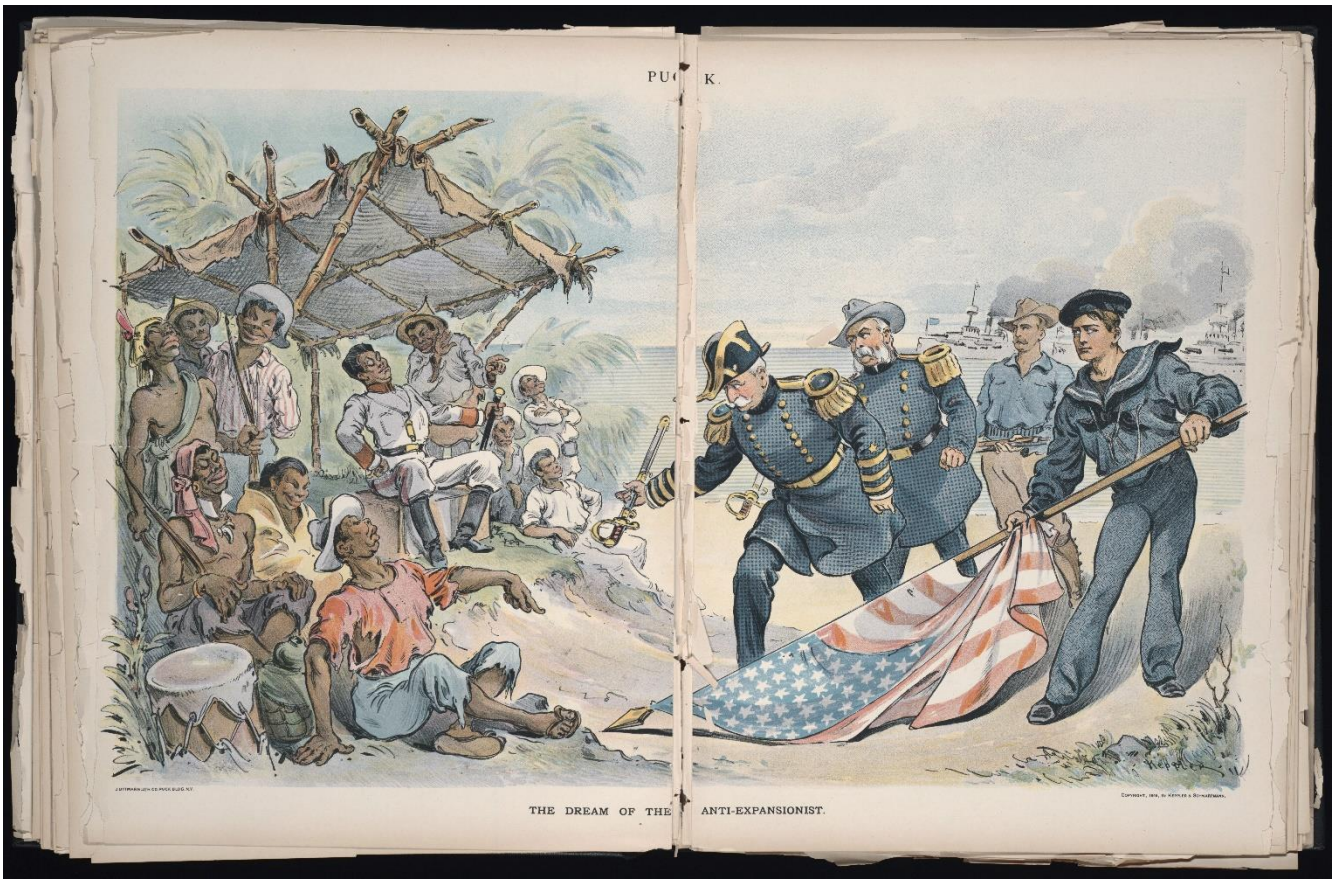


Figure 49: *J.S. Pughe's "Looking Forward," Puck, Nov. 1 1899*

Figure 50: *J.S. Pughe's "Declined With Thanks," Puck, Sept 5, 1900*

Figure 51: *J.S. Pughe's "Hurrah! The Country Is Saved Again!," Puck, Nov. 14 1900*

Figure 52: *Louis Dalrymple's "No Party Lines When National Honor Is In Peril," Puck, July 22 1896*

Figure 53: *Udo Keppler's "The Survival of the Fittest," Puck, June 1 1898*

Figure 54: *Louis Dalrymple's "Waiting For The Verdict," Puck, July 27 1898*

Figure 55: *J.S. Pughe's "Another Party Heard From," Puck, Aug. 5 1898*

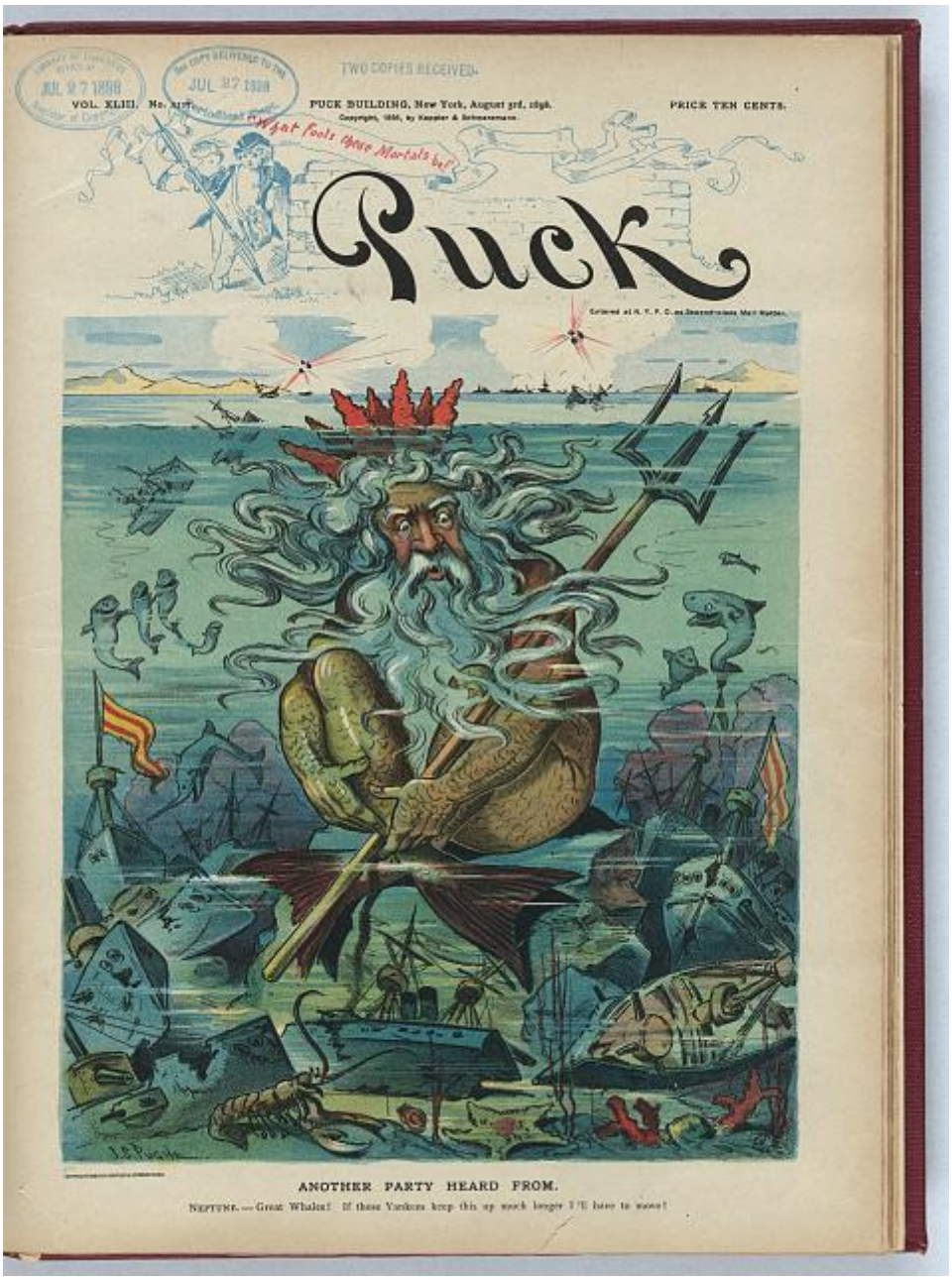

TWO COPIES RECEIVED
JUL 27 1898
VOL. XLIII. No. 1117. PUCK BUILDING, New York, August 3rd, 1898. PRICE TEN CENTS.
What fools these Mortals be!
Puck
ANOTHER PARTY HEARD FROM.
NEPTUNE.—Great Whales! If these Yankees keep this up much longer I'll have to move!

Figure 56: *Louis Dalrymple's "Patient Waiters Are No Losers," Puck, Jan. 13 1897*

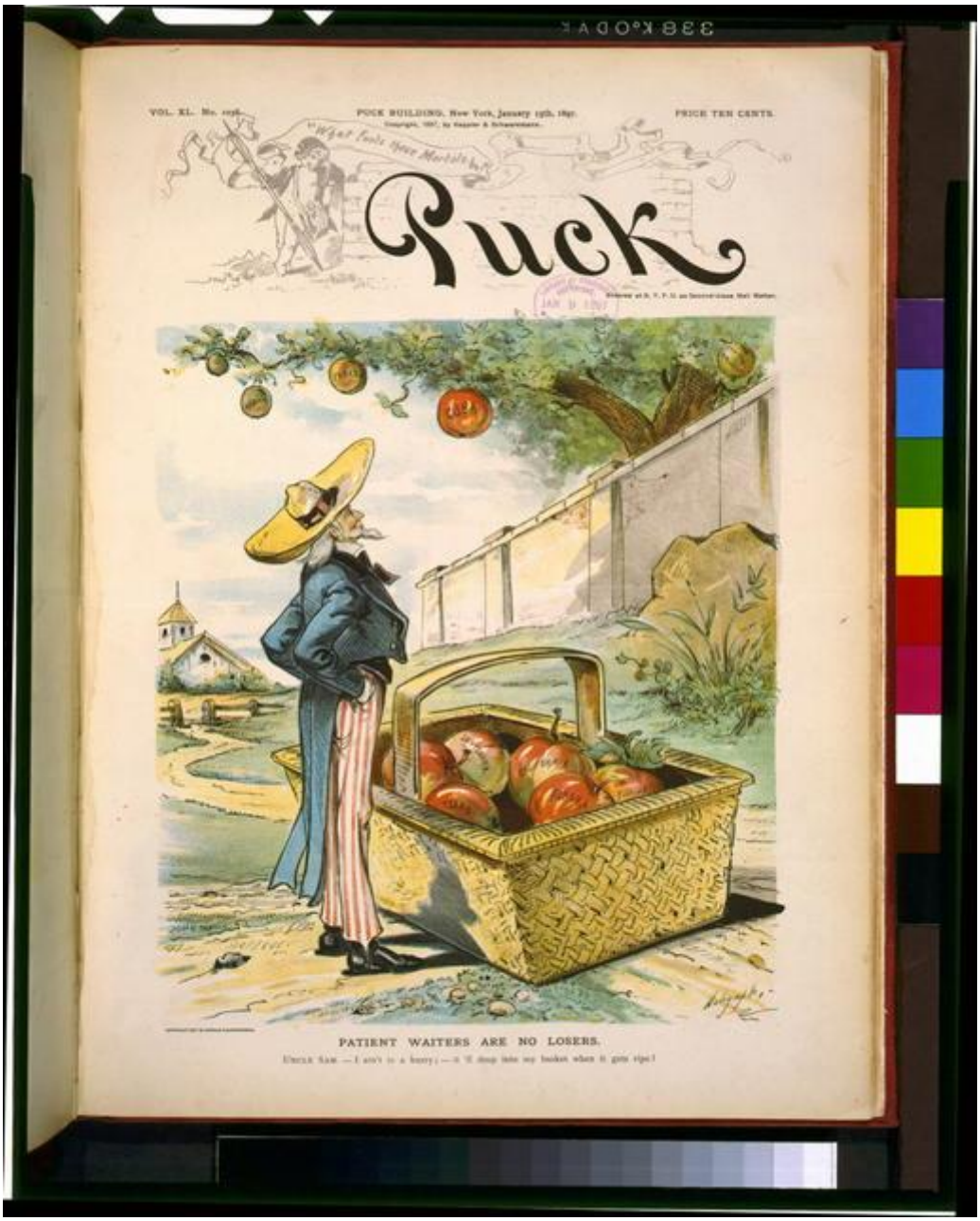


Figure 57: *Udo Keppler's "The Peace Maker," Puck, Apr. 20 1898*

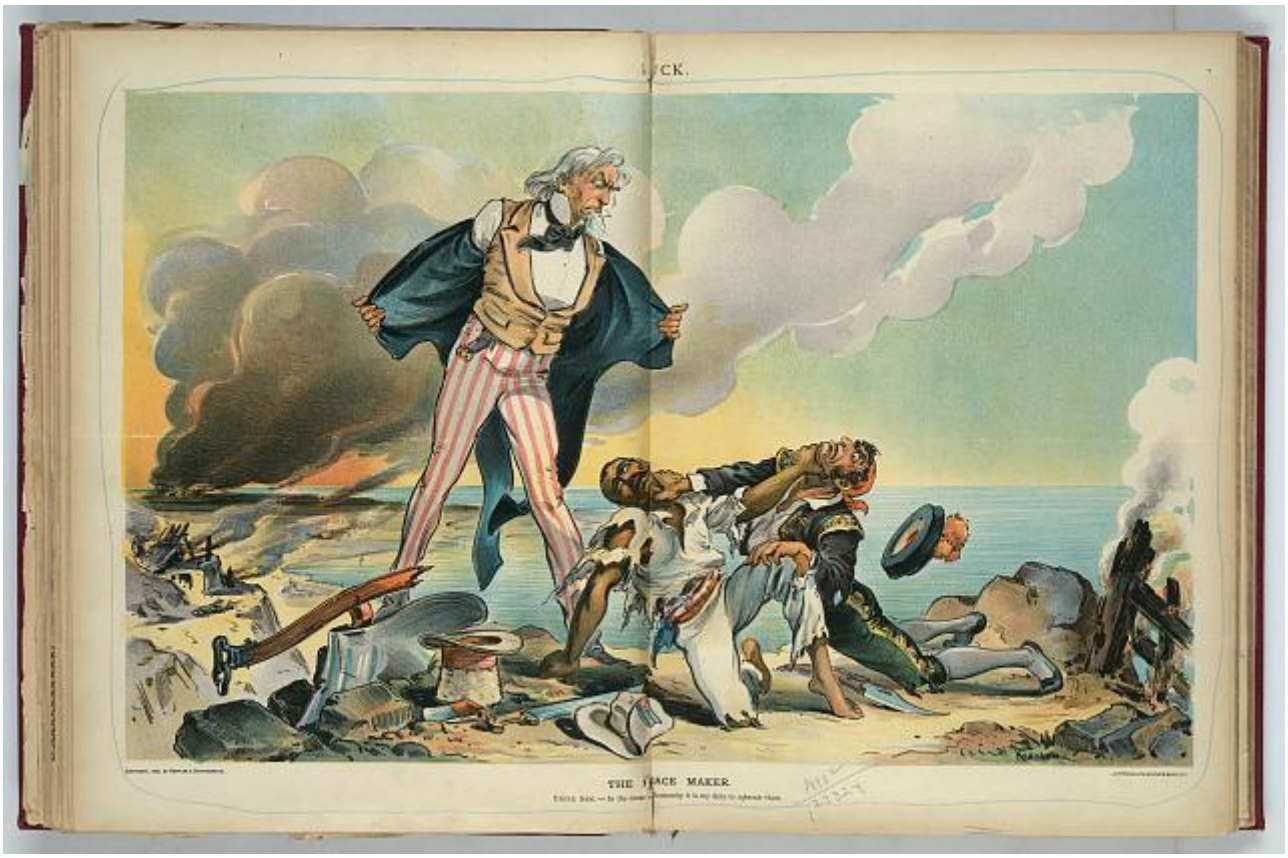


Figure 58: *Udo Keppler's "The Next Step As It Looks Now," Puck, May 4 1898*

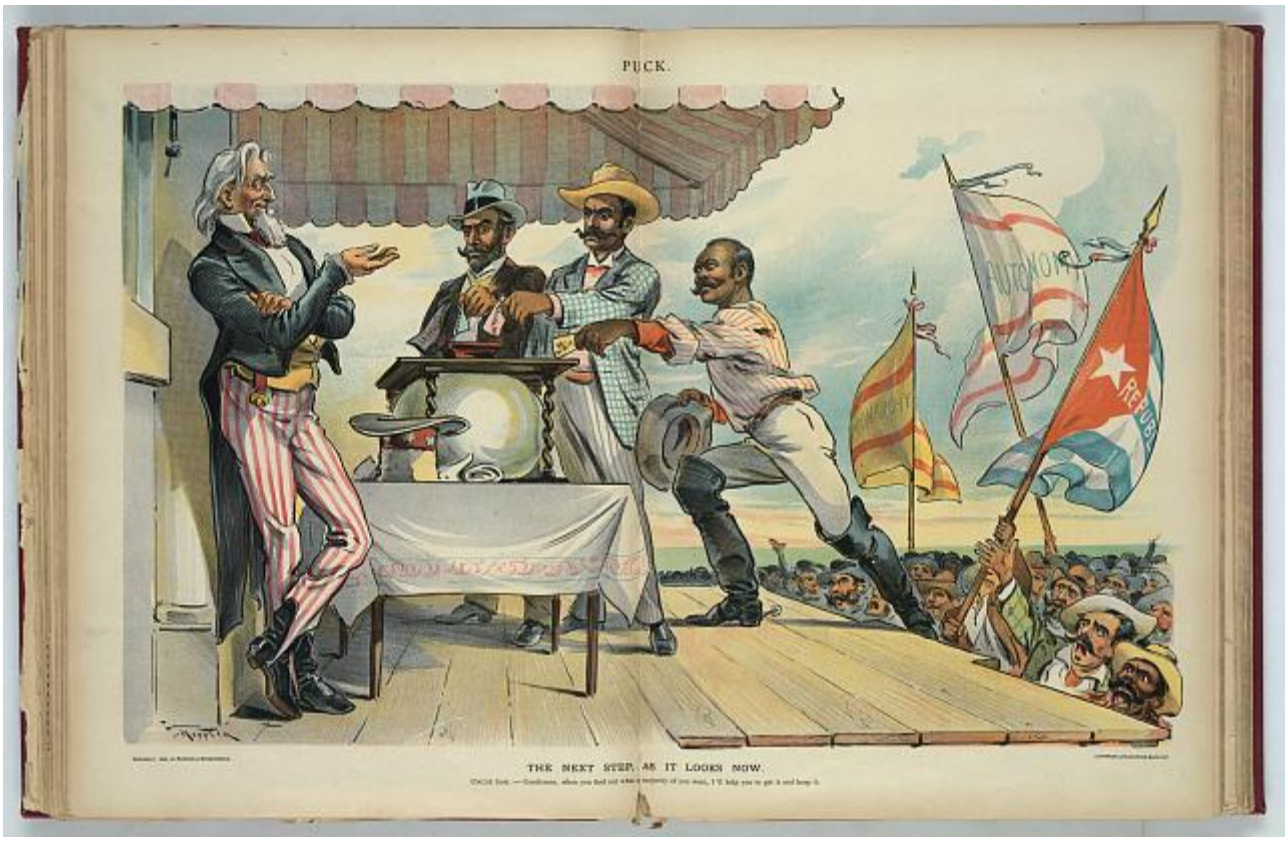


Figure 59: *Louis Dalrymple's "A Good-Natured Hint," Puck, Oct 12 1898*

PUCK.
GEN. AGUINALDO
DICTATORSHIP
PHILIPPINES
NO ROOM FOR DOUBT.
A GOOD-NATURED HINT.
UNCLE SAM.—Say, young fellow! You've behaved pretty well; but some of your antics are suspicious. Just remember that I've got my eye on you!

Figure 60: *Louis Dalrymple's "Smashed!," Puck, Mar. 8 1899*

Figure 61: *Udo Keppler's "Through peace to happiness," Puck, Sep 20 1899*

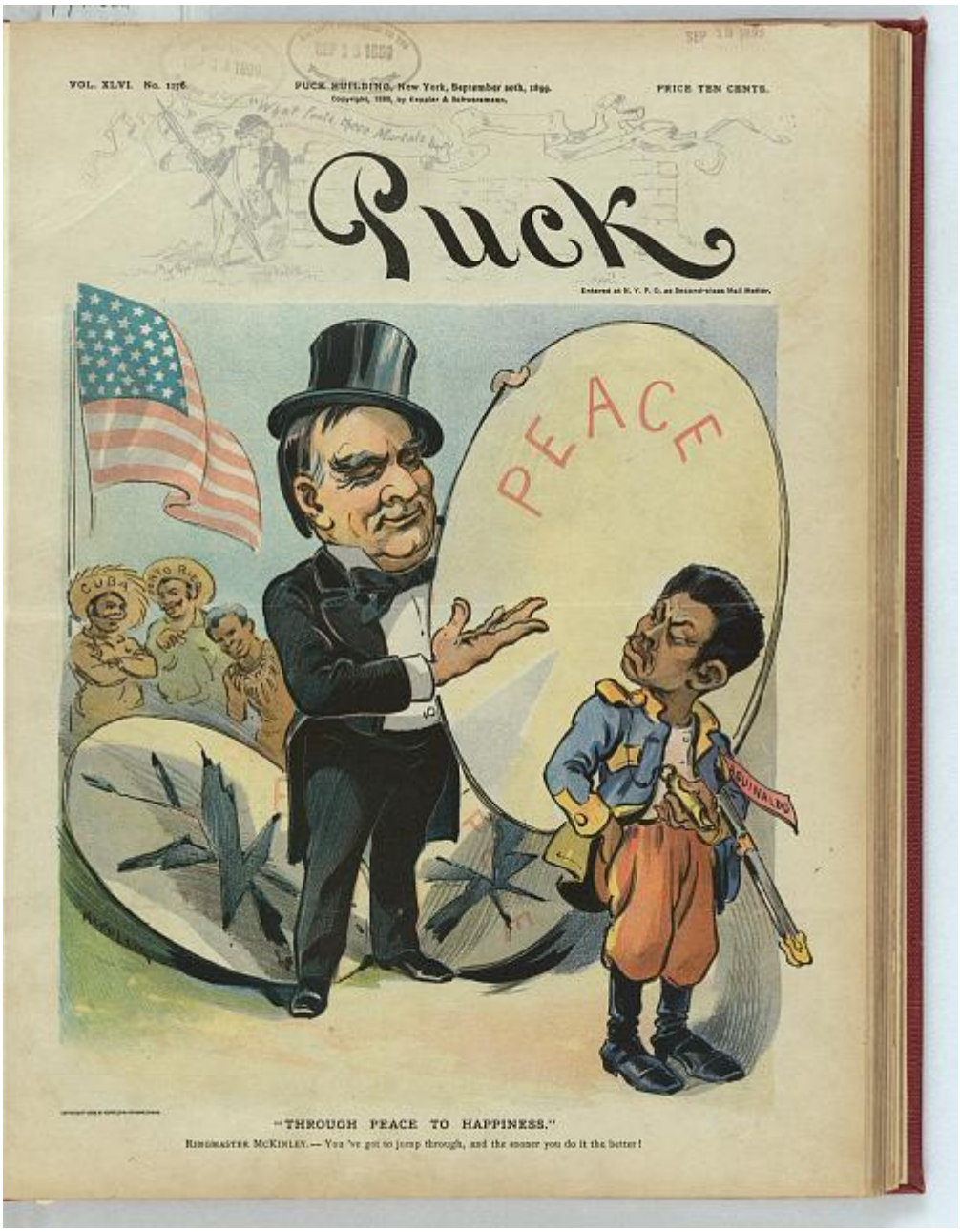

VOL. XLVI. No. 1176. PUCK BUILDING, New York, September 20th, 1899. PRICE TEN CENTS.
Puck
PEACE
CUBA
PORTO RICO
HAWAII
"THROUGH PEACE TO HAPPINESS."
RINGMASTER MCKINLEY.— You 've got to jump through, and the sooner you do it the better!

Figure 62: *Udo Keppler's "The Parade of the Pigmies" in Puck, Nov. 22, 1899*

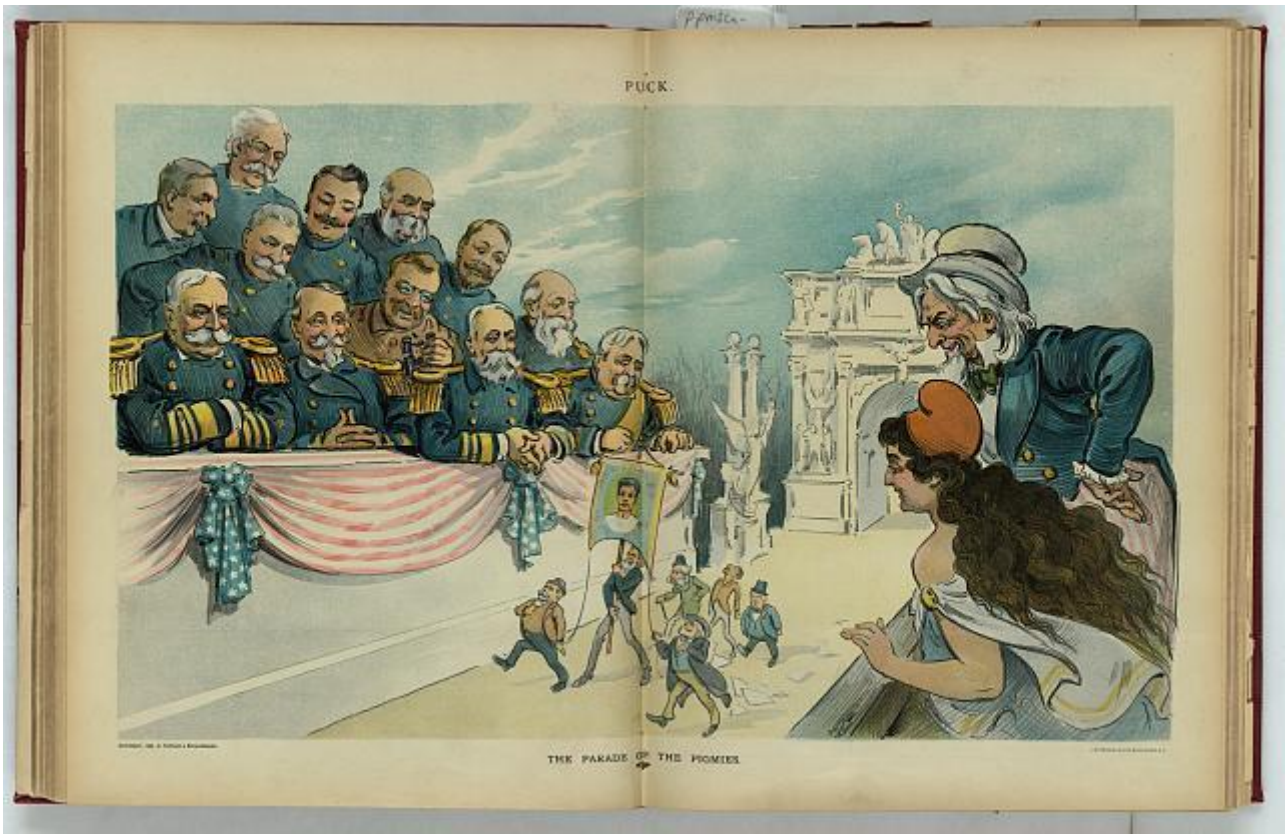


Figure 63: *S.D. Ehrhart's "If They'll Only Be Good" in Puck, Jan 31, 1900*

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[2] Thomas, "Maligning Poverty's Prophet," 24; West, "Laughing in German," 25; Thomas, "Holding the Tiger," 164; Richardson, "What Fools These Mortals Be," 53; Kahn and West, *The Story of Puck*, 15.
[3] West, *Satire on Stone,* 397, 428, 433; Marschall, *The World Encyclopedia of Cartoons,* 183, 334-5, 544; Kahn and West, *The Story of Puck,* 13, 321-3.
[4] West, "Laughing in German," 17, 22-3; Kahn and West, *The Story of Puck,* 42.
[5] West, *Satire on Stone,* 127.
[6] Eid, "*Puck* and the Irish,"18; Dennis & Allen, "Puck, The Comic Weekly," 6; Thomas, "Mugwump Cartoonists," 245-6.
[7] Epp, "The Humor Industry," 357-8, 361, 365, 371; "Louis Dalrymple," *New York Tribune*, Dec. 15, 1905, page 16. Courtesy of Chronicling America. While R. Moss in "The Racial Anxiety of the Comic Page" makes valid points about Puck's stereotypes, he incorrectly states that Grant E. Hamilton's "Uncle Sam is a Man of Strong Features" was done for *Puck*, when it was actually published by their competitor, *Judge*, leading to incorrect conclusions about *Puck*.
[8] "Cartoonist Dalrymple Goes Insane," *The Evening World*, Nov. 25, 1905, page 3. Courtesy of Chronicling America.
[9] Thomas Curtis, "Some American Humorous Artists – II," *The Strand Magazine*, April 1903, Vol. 25, no. 147, p. 266267. Some examples showing this style are displayed by the Art Institute of Chicago.
[10] Cornell University Library, "Guide to the Joseph Keppler Jr. Iroquois Papers, 1882-1944," 2006; Sara Duke, "Udo J. Keppler" within *Biographical Sketches of Cartoonists & Illustrators in the Swann Collection of the Library of Congress* (Arlington, VA: ComicsDC, 2012), 175; "Keppler- Bechtel," *New York Times*, Apr. 5, 1895.
[11] Ask Art, "Samuel Ehrhart," 2017.
[12] See examples of this include the cartoons described by the Art Institute of Chicago.
[13] Lambiek Encyclopedia, "Charles Jay Taylor," 2017.
[14] Courtesy of the entry for Taylor in the *Benezit Dictionary of Artists*.
[15] "Week by Week," *The Weekly Mail*, May 22, 1909, p. 6; "J.S. (John S.) Pughe," *Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, accessed June 29, 2017; Don Carlos Seitz, *Training for the Newspaper Trade* (Philadelphia: J.P. Lippincott Company, 1916), 128-129; "Art Exhibition and Sale," *Brooklyn Life*, 03 Oct 1896, Page 2. Newspapers.com.
[16] "Obituary Notes," *New York Times*, April 20, 1909; "John S. Pughe," *Puck*, Apr. 28, 1909, p. 1.
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[19] Ohio State University Libraries, Billy Ireland Cartoon Library & Museum, "Frederick Burr Opper, 1857-1937," accessed June 29, 2017.
[20] Courtesy of the entry for Taylor in the *Benezit Dictionary of Artists*.
[21] Briley, "Yellow Journalism," 435; Krogman, "Newspapers (Spanish-American War)," 416; "The Spanish-American War: The United States Becomes a World Power." Accessed October 23, 2015; Morgan, x, 13, 41; Freidel, "Chapter 1," 5-6; Zinn, Konopacki, and Buhle, 29, 39, 44.

[22] Schoonover, “Three Crises: The 1893 Depression, China and Cuba,” 66, 86; Zinn, “The Empire and the People,” 310, 312; Selfa, “Defenders of the Empire,” 129; Freidel, “Chapter 1,” 3; Morgan, 113.
[23] “Reconcentration Policy.” Last modified April 11, 2013.
[24] “A Chance For Bryan To Keep Before the Public, After His Defeat.” *Puck (1877-1918)*, Oct 28, 1896, 16. *ProQuest*.
[25] “The Only Way for Weyler to Keep the Cuban Insurgents from Crossing His “Trocha.”” *Puck (1877-1918)*, Dec 02, 1896, 16. *ProQuest*.
[26] Wilkerson, *Public opinion and the Spanish-American war*, 23.
[27] Kahn and West, *The Story of Puck,* 190.
[28] The Library of Congress describes this as showing “a parade of American citizens marching towards Spanish troops who are fleeing the beach to their waiting ships at sea. The citizens carry banners, books, and signs promoting their various causes” but has no photograph to accompany the description, as it has not been, yet, digitized.
[29] Christina, “The False God Moloch in Ginsberg's Howl.” Accessed October 13, 2015; Moore, “Biblical Notes,” 161-4.
[30] Moebs, “Battles, Conflicts, and Wars,” 66; Youngblood, “The Sea Mine Comes of Age,” 68.
[31] Artstor describes February 15, 1898 cartoon in *Judge*, using this description. They claim that *Puck* was “cautious” but this essay put that highly in doubt.
[32] Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood,* 13, 70, 80.
[33] Ibid, 88, 96, 101-2, 104.
[34] Udo Keppler, in a cartoon titled “A puzzle for the Populists” also tapped into this theme, with the Library of Congress describing the cartoon as showing “John Jacob Astor wearing a military uniform and carrying a flag that states "On to Manila. Astor's Mountain Battery" and a sword, and holding the reins to many mules carrying cannon barrels, as he leads the way to Manila in the Philippines, during the Spanish-American War.”
[35] Bronski, “Production and Marketing of Gender,” 138.
[36] Hofstadter, “Cuba, The Philippines, and Manifest Destiny,” 134-5; Bronski, “Production and Marketing of Gender,” 132
[37] Young, “The Logic of Masculinist Protection,” 2, 9.
[38] Miller, *From Liberation to Conquest*, 28-29. 52
[39] Ibid, 28-9.
[40] Ibid, 147-8.
[41] Weber, *Faking It*, 1-2, 14, 19-20, 34.
[42] Ibid, 21, 25, 28, 32.
[43] Due to the fact that the Moline illustration only has the date of 1896 on Wikimedia and Keppler’s illustration was in November 1895, it seems that these two cartoons crossed paths. Doing further research, I found the cartoon on page 6 of the May 23, 1896 edition of *La Campana de Gracia*, showing that Keppler’s illustration came first. Which begs the question: was Moline satirizing Keppler’s cartoon?
[44] Sebring, “Civilization & Barbarism.” Accessed October 2, 2015.
[45] Miller, *From Liberation to Conquest*, 180-2.
[46] Sebring, “Civilization & Barbarism.” Accessed October 2, 2015
[47] Ibid.
[48] C.J. Taylor tapped into the same themes himself with his “we are not a nation of swindlers” and “fun for the politicians, but rough on the business man” cartoons in 1896.
[49] Kahn and West, *The Story of Puck,* 192.
[50] Ibid, 191.
[51] Ibid, 183.
[52] Szczepanski, “Revolutionary Heroes of the Philippines.” Accessed October 13, 2015
[53] Sebring, “Civilization & Barbarism.” Accessed October 2, 2015
[54] Richardson, “What Fools These Mortals Be,” 53; Thomas, "Maligning Poverty's Prophet,” 24; Thomas, “Mugwump Cartoonists,” 213; Appel, “Jews in American caricature,” 117.